

# FUTURISING AFRICA



*Towards a Revolution for African Unity and Development by Africans*

**FRANCIS SINZALA**

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Unity and Development by Africans*

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Futurising Africa

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## **OVERVIEW OF THE BOOK**

### **Introduction**

This book provides a simple and relevant resource on Africa: Its resources, Prospects, Challenges, Solutions and its future. It provides concise explanations of relevant happenings and experiences in the continent.

Every responsible citizen of our beautiful continent who has interest to the betterment of the African Continent will find this book helpful as it provides a concise snapshots of the various issues affecting the continent. The non-conceptual and easy to read format allows for easy understanding of key issues affecting the continent and some possible ways of redeeming it.

### **What Does This Book Cover?**

Africa is poised to be world economic leader. Africa is home to the largest and youngest population in the world and if this young and large population is leveraged with developing the rich natural resources, Africa will be the greatest continent in the world.

Despite this promising future, growth in Africa has stalled coupled with increased poverty. The crisis of underdevelopment in Africa has been a subject of discussion amongst social scientists, national governments and international development organization for several decades. Generally, the African continent has been facing mass poverty and socio-economic underdevelopment despite been endowed with different natural resources in all of its countries.

In particular, Africa has failed to develop as it should because of poor leadership and extractive political and economic institutions that have

concentrated political power and the wealth of the nation in the hands of the politicians who are mostly uneducated and do not know what to do with the managing of their economies. These politicians have failed to provide to the general citizenry with basic public services, such as good infrastructure and quality education. This is not to mention lack of good drinking water and basic health care. This shows that the continent is struggling with low human development with a huge disparity between economic growth and social welfare.

In addition, the failure of development in Africa is supplemented by unsuitable democracy and the type of policies that come out of it have not been designed to benefit the ordinary people. Instead, the policies benefit only the political leaders and their cadres, leaving the masses to make ends meet on whatever they could find. Leaders in Africa are fighting for leadership positions in governments in order to control the existing resources and to exploit the economies. Government positions are seen as a solution to escape poverty by many people in Africa. Political corruption in Africa is dominant and most leaders manipulate voters to vote for them and afterward, they continue exploiting the economy like what their predecessors. These are some of the reasons for the continued social unrests in Africa in addition to the turbulent global economy and financial crisis to undermine the people's ability to earn a living and improve their livelihood.

Many other factors are retarding development and prosperity in Africa. The African countries are economically poor and technologically backward and largely characterised by poor infrastructure, and unsuitable education system, poor health system, unable to bargain at international organisations and trade, and so on. Most African countries cannot afford to sustain their economies and provide public services with the existing funds and survive

on loans from the western countries. African leaders have less control over their governments because the political activities are influenced by the western countries. Financial aid provided by the western countries is abused by the African leaders through misappropriation of funds and money laundering by the leaders.

In order for the countries in Africa to experience development, the leaders in African countries need to work together to fight against the underdevelopment of Africa as a continent. Africa certainly needs leaders that will change the economic situation in their countries using local values and solutions. Without this, the livelihood of the millions of ordinary Africans who are stuck in abject poverty will not change and Africa will remain underdeveloped.

This book discusses the challenges of Africa and it presents possible solutions to these challenges. It concludes by discussing the need to use local solution for African problems.

**Who is this book for?**

- All Africans in the continent and in the diaspora
- Everyone who has an interest in the betterment of the African continent
- Contemporary African Political-Economy, Development Practice and Social Sciences Students and Academicians

**Why should you read this book?**

- Need to understand the problems which Africa is facing



- Need to understand how the continent can be helped to use its resources effectively for Sustainable Development
- Need to understand the future of the African continent
- Need to understand personal Roles of citizens in fostering a sustainable future of the African continent

**What is different about this book?**

- This book teaches about the African and how to improve the economic wellbeing of its people without discriminating against race, religion or disability. Africa is made up with people with different characteristics, culture and origins.
- However, it does not support Unafrikan cultural values like Homosexuality and Lesbianism, Xenophobia and conflict among other negative effects of globalisation.
- It supports 'Ubuntu', the caring for each other.

## **Chapter One**

### **CHALLENGES OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT, HUMAN DEVELOPMENT AND POVERTY REDUCTION**

The African continent was faced with European imperialists' aggression, military invasions and later colonisation between 1870 and 1900. African societies fought fiercely to retain control over their countries but they eventually lost. By 1900, Africa was colonised by seven European powers which are Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Spain, Portugal and Italy. Colonialism was characterised by exploitation of Africa. Indigenous economic structures largely lost their functions and autonomy as they were incorporated into the colonial capitalist state with the primary objective of extraction of resources, both physical and human. Subsistence economies were transformed into peasant or wage-labour structures. Africa's rural economy was transformed into a vast reservoir of labour to be shunted about according to the fortunes of the capitalist economies and this resulted in the setting of the motion of the process of dependency, and internal centre-periphery relations that is the dominance of towns over the rural areas, one region over another, or one African country over another.

The colonial period was brief and it produced deep-rooted transformations such as introduction of Africa into the world economy and passing of new skills through colonial rule in addition to new practices, new ideas, and pioneering methods of governance. Because of this, colonialism reduced the economic gap between the African continent and the western world. Undeniably, the past colonial rule left its imprint on the present social, economic, and political situation. Whatever may have been the shortcomings of colonialism, the overall outcome was positive for Africa.

After 1960, most African countries began to gain independence and became sovereign states. They inherited thriving economies from their colonial masters and the economies were stable. During this period, there were high expectations as people believed that political independence would lead to rapid economic growth and improved welfare of the people. The new leaders began social reconstruction and many countries successfully improved their infrastructure and social amenities for people.

However, most of these countries after early 1970s started facing stagnation in economic growth and the economies started declining towards 1980s. During this period, African economies were afflicted severely by a series of external shocks, including the oil shocks of 1973 and 1979, widespread drought and a major depression experienced by the industrialised north resulting in overall decline in both demand and prices for Africa's commodity exports. In addition to these shocks, the already feeble states of Africa were also challenged with negative economic growth rates, stagnant or falling per capita income figures, and severe balance-of-payments and debt-service problems. Moreover, these impediments were frequently aggravated by out of place policies, inefficient investment, worsening infrastructure and productive capacity as well as widespread corruption. By the 1980s, the situation in the continent had become disastrous. The political reforms that brought African leaders to power failed to fulfil the economic and social needs of the people and at present most of these countries are much poorer as compared to how they were during their respective year of being granted independence.

### **Lack of Sustainable Growth**

While Africa achieved a positive growth rates after the year 2000, many countries have not achieved or maintain growth rates which can reduce poverty. African countries are still facing difficulties in raising the levels of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and sustaining high growth rate over a long period of time. There are fifty-four (54) countries in Africa with a total population of 1.38 billion. Its GDP amounts to about US\$2.6 trillion, which translates into a GDP per capita of US\$1,970 (2020 figures). The GDP for the whole continent is slightly less than that of some individual European countries. Africa's share of global GDP has stagnated since the 1970s and has actually shown a decline since 1980 to present. The annual economic growth rate for Africa between 1990-2000 was only two point one percent (2.1 %), compared to the population growth rate of two point eight percent (2.8 %). Despite several interventions like macroeconomic stabilisations, deregulation, privatisation, trade, and exchange rates reforms, structural constraints, institutional weaknesses continue to block a vigorous supply response as these economies depends on primary products which contribute less to the GDP. The most common challenges in Africa is to provide equitable standard of living, food security, clean water and sanitation services, safe shelter, healthy environment and jobs availability.

### **Low Human Development and Poverty**

In order for us to understand sustainable development in Africa we have to look at the Human Development (HD). Africa use human development strategies to address poverty. This was an afterthought after the failure of structural adjustment and economic stabilisation strategies by International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank following the collapse of the world economy in the 1980s. African countries reduced military

expenditure, increased expenditure in education and health, increased participation in decision making among others. The result was varying with some countries such as Zimbabwe, Nigeria and Burkina Faso facing a rise in poverty while Uganda, Ethiopia and Ghana had reduced poverty. Poverty is measured by Human Development Index (HDI). Human welfare indices confirm the prevalence of a near state of destitution for a growing proportion as evidenced by poor nutrition, lack of access to health care services and drastic reduction in life expectancy. The continent has most of the poorest countries as it has lowest levels of HDI ranking. According to the Human Development Report 2020, there is no single African country in the category of countries with high human development. There only eleven (11) African countries in the medium category. The rest are in the lower category. From the HDI (2020) all the most ten (10) poorest countries in the world are from Africa which includes Niger, Central African Republic, Chad, Burundi, South Sudan, Mali, Burkina Faso, Sierra Leone, Mozambique and Eritrea. In other words, Africa is the continent with the largest proportion of poverty and the least modernized economy. Achieving and maintaining reasonable real growth rates thus remains a major challenge for Africa.

### **Reasons for Lack of Development**

African countries have clear policies but the lack of proper implementation of those policies makes those policies useless. Lack of proper policy implementation affects the economic growth of the African economies. There is a lack of intention and political will to implement progressive policies in Africa. The African vision of changing Africa for the better rest in the offices of leaders with no vision to implement viable policies. The vision and policies presented by leaders during the election campaigns remain rhetoric. Development strategies and policies that focus on

stabilisation and privatisation which are pushed by external donors rather than growth, development and poverty eradication, leading to greater poverty and inequality and undermining the ability of the people to participate effectively in the political and social processes in their respective countries. Welfare and other programs intended to meet the basic needs of the majority of the population are transferred from governments to Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) which makes the governments to lose the little authority and legitimacy they have.

### **Solutions to the continued Underdevelopment in Africa**

What is evident from the foregoing is that the length of Africa's strides on the path to sustained development will be determined by the pace with which it addresses the development challenges that it faces, which are by no means formidable. These challenges are, however, not undefeatable.

Africa will need to address the problem of poverty eradication in a more indigenous way. The global actors have been pressurising African governments to open up more to maximise foreign investments and capital inflows, and big multinationals and local enterprises utilise this environment to cater for their interests. This has made the governments to have less room in paying attention to the abject poverty amongst the poor and rich both in and between countries. The African states will have to be encouraged to pay more attention to the fate of their poor populace than to the fate of big global actors. The big global actors can talk for themselves with little problem. The issue is: WHO WILL TALK FOR THE POOR AFRICANS?

Africans must be proactive, have control and represent themselves. In articulating a new approach to the economic development of Africa, emphasis should be placed on the question of the nature, ownership,

management, allocation, utilisation and distribution of resources. Ownership of land is supposed to be in the hands of Africans and they should control the means of production. The means of production should not be left in the hands of the foreign investors. If foreign investors are allowed to continue controlling the means of production, Africans will continue to be spectators and will continue to be used as cheap labour by these investors.

The preoccupation of African leaders at the global level must focus on the interest of the continent on how to promote political and economic reforms that will aid economic growth and development in the continent by moving from mere declarative statements to pragmatic steps that is problem solving, achievable and goal oriented. Africa needs leaders who have the political will to curb corruption, combat poverty, inequality, bad governance, political instability and channel the needed resources to the productive sectors of the African economies.

What they require are a set of strategic interventions which range from good political governance to effective development policies and programs. These interventions will require the active involvement of the continent's population through democratic institutions and practices, as well as the commitment of governments, regional institutions, educational institutions and the private sector. As far as Africa's contribution is concerned, the mobilisation of public opinion would be an important step, as would the identification of potential constructive partnerships between academic institutions and the science and technology community to contribute to building infrastructure and human capital. Furthermore, there is need for governmental and corporate transparency which will present real potential for synergy.

The key for ensuring the sustainability of Africa's economic development is African people's ownership of capacity building which must necessarily

have a disproportionately large share that is indigenous. African ownership and leadership of the capacity building process, institutions, development policies and programs in a spirit and practice of internal and external partnership. Systematic, coordinated and sustained intervention as capacity building is an investment with long-term gestation. Capacity building can be in form of Skills creation, retention, utilisation, upgrading and sustenance. The availability of the requisite capacity in the form, quantity and quality that are commensurate with the continent's development challenges provides the platform for a serious effort for sustained growth and poverty reduction in African countries.



## **Chapter Two**

### **CHALLENGES OF AFRICA'S NATURAL RESOURCES UTILISATION**

The continent is home to the world's largest arable land and eco-system. Africa holds a bigger chunk of the world's natural resources, both renewable and non-renewable. Eco-system and the biodiversity form part of the capital which the African countries have. And this includes land, sub soil resources, pasture, forests, marine and fresh water resources. Rivers and wetlands cover about one percent (1%) of Africa's total land and they form an important source of livelihood.

Africa is home to one third of all minerals in the world. Beneath the surface of Africa lies a wealth of mineral resources of enormous value. The African continent has about forty percent (40%) of the world's gold reserves, ninety percent (90%) of chromium and platinum, eight percent (8%) of natural gas, and twelve percent (12%) of oil and has large deposits of copper, cobalt and diamond among others. In 2021, the continent produced almost one billion (1,000,000,000) tonnes of minerals worth US\$457 billion. In African countries, the natural resource sector constitute the significant proportion of the formal economy and makes Africa an important player in the world stage for mineral resources, for example Zambia produces copper and cobalt, South Africa produces platinum, diamond and gold, bauxite and iron ore from Guinea, liquefied gas from, iron ore from Liberia, gold from Ghana, phosphate from Morocco and copper from Democratic Republic of Congo, gas and coal from Mozambique, and diamond from Botswana among others.

Wealth in Africa lies not only in the rich natural resources but also in the rising young population. Africa has a large and youngest population globally with sixty percent (60%) of its population been under the age of twenty-five (25). This development is attributed to high fertility in addition to reducing child mortality. The young population will be able to give Africa a pool of workforce and future leaders from grassroots to continental level for the next several decades. The young generation will be able to bring fresh leaders who are able and willing to put up their energy and passion to serve their communities, countries and the continent through new ideas in terms of politics, economics, engineering and entrepreneurship among others.

Africa's natural resources and a high number of young people provide a unique opportunity to foster economic development and pave a breakthrough in human development. For African countries, natural resources are important part of their economies. If harnessed rightly, these natural resources can constitute a huge opportunity for development. By exploiting its natural resource base, in essence converting its underground minerals and agricultural potential into human and physical capital to create inclusive growth, Africa could become the main industrial hub for the world. Africa can also possess a significant service sector in natural resource extraction related activities such as environmental and social analysis, technical design and mining finance hence it can be home to Multi-National Corporations (MNCs) operating in the extractive industries across the world.

The extractive industry makes economic progress in natural resources rich countries. Botswana, Mozambique, Ghana and Tanzania were able to move from poor countries to well performing middle countries because of their

extractive industries. However, African natural resource wealth has not contributed to the development of the continent as a whole.

### **African Natural Resource Utilisation Failure**

As earlier posited, the African continent is endowed with enormous resources. Though, not without challenges that pose significant threat to its economy. The African continent has problems which it seeks to address. The African households survive on less than one united states dollars (US\$ 1) per day. The mortality rate for children under five (5) years of age is one hundred and forty (140) per one thousand (1000) and life expectancy at birth is only fifty-four (54) years. Only fifty-eight percent (58 %) of the population has access to safe water. The rate of illiteracy for people over fifteen (15) years is forty-one percent (41%). There are main factors leading to African leaders to fail to utilise the natural resources for development purposes and these are as follows:

The first problem is that there is no equitable extraction of natural resources. Natural resources create resource rents when they are produced which is the surplus of value of the resource in the underground when valued at the market price over the cost of its discovery and extraction. These resource rents justify how much taxes these companies should pay to ensure equitable sharing between the investor owners of the mines and the sovereign owner, the government. The African governments do not receive a large share of benefits as other regions of the world. The challenge of equitable extraction of minerals comes in when setting up fiscal framework to tax resource rents at levels that maximise fiscal flows to the country but not to dissuade investors from exploring and producing the resources.

The problem is compounded by the unpredictable fluctuations in the commodity prices which affects the value of the resource rent hence producing swings in the tax of revenue and profit of the company. In this case most African countries become generous in terms of taxing the mining companies taking into consideration that the mining firms are negatively affected due to the economic situation. This makes the country to only obtain marginal share of resource rent due to over generous tax terms.

In addition, African governments obtain worse deals in resource rent sharing contracts because of the notion that there is higher risk of investment in Africa because of wars, low infrastructural investment and corruption. It must be noted that MNCs steal legally through dodging taxes and externalising of profits they make in Africa to their country of origin. They pretend that they generate their wealth in tax havens by illegally moving money in the tax havens.

Many African countries do not process their raw materials in their respective countries. They export the raw materials and the processing and value addition is done in the country importing. African governments have no capacity and lack governance mechanisms to ensure the use of raw materials for broad based economic growth. The extracted raw materials are shipped directly from these African countries to overseas. These raw materials are undervalued or under-invoiced in the producing African country when exporting which reduces the taxable profits. This tax manoeuvre is done through a subsidiary of the same companies registered in a corporate tax haven, which plays fictitious roles of buyers of the products exported by the local companies. The sales destined for the west and Asian countries are settled below the market price by the tax haven subsidiary. They then resell the goods for the actual price to the west and Asian

companies. The profits of these African companies are transferred to their tax haven subsidiaries, where taxation is very low or no taxation at all. These sums of money are therefore lost by African countries, where the wealth is extracted from and transferred to countries that do not add any value to the product.

Rents represent the notion of extracting high excess profits by reaping what one does not sow. Many resource rich countries are institution poor. They are resource rich in that they depend on the export of a primary commodity. Governance problems are a result of rents, because rents are about two separate processes.

First, they involve negotiation between these states and international companies in terms of which party gets which proportion of the rents. But there are also internal negotiations as to who gets what the state gets from the previous negotiation, among different ethnic groups, regions and levels of government. Such a process is dangerous to institution building, in that most countries extract resources from their populations then redistribute these resources to the same population. This process of taxation causes requirements for accountability, in what may be termed a “resources for institutions” bargain. However, rentier states avoid taxation, which breaks the link that requires state building and more democratic consultation with the citizenry. No taxation means no representation. Instead, there are negotiations about how to collect money from the international sector, and there is no transparency in this process. We cannot measure market relations in these conditions. We have no idea what the supply is because it is in everyone’s interest to hide the supply and keep the first round of negotiations secret.

During the second set of negotiations, it is also in the actor's interests to be vague. The state has to hide the inequality in the way money is distributed. Rulers partially hide the rents and then distribute them according to patronage links such as religion, family, or ethnic group. This form of distribution of resources keeps the ruler in power without many pressures to democratise, in that it weakens demands for representation. Ultimately, minerals are associated with authoritarian rule. In fact, minerals hinder democracy. The money that is spent on patronage is intended to keep rulers in power and to maintain a happy power base. When this happens, the state gets patronage networks and corruption in the classic sense. It is difficult to know when patronage starts and corruption begins.

It must be noted that in many cases, African leaders have allowed foreign companies to extract minerals and in return these companies pay taxes and royalties to the governments in their own currencies instead of the local currency. This makes the African governments to receive less money as compared to the payments done in local currencies.

In addition, a lot of money is stolen from Africa by the west and Asian countries through the illegal harvesting of minerals and other natural resources. This includes the illegal mining of precious resources like diamond and gold among others. Also illegal logging of timber and exporting of hardwood. A lot of hardwood timber in Africa like Rosewood, Mukula and *Pterocarpus Angolensis* (Mukwa) is stolen unprocessed from Africa and transported in containerised trucks in readiness for shipping to China and European countries. Other sectors affected in the illegal harvest are fishing and wildlife. These crimes are facilitated by the some unscrupulous government officials who benefit from bribes for free passage of the commodities.

### **Solutions to the inefficient use of Natural Resources**

Because of unbalanced resource rent deal, some African governments resort to nationalisation of the mines in order to increase the national share of resource rent. Nationalisation is not the solution as this strategy has not been viable in Africa because the nationalised mines are always marred with inefficiency and corruption making them to underperform as compared to the private companies like the case of GECA mines in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Konkola Copper Mines (KCM) in Zambia.

African countries must strive to obtain greater share of resource rents. Better informed negotiations with mining and oil exploration companies and greater transparency and accountability to reduce corruption. Greater transparency would lead to more equitable ratios of rent sharing in terms of tax, royalties and other levies the companies have to pay.

Also African policy makers should manage their resource rents effectively through rigorous macroeconomic management based on fiscal policy rules to offset boom and burst cycles and make the necessary intergenerational tradeoffs. This is likely to create stabilisation and wealth funds.

African countries must invest to create inclusive development especially in public infrastructure and human capital. The African policy makers need to foster diversified private sector alongside its extractive industry to provide the basis for strong inclusive growth. The resource rich African countries need to build infrastructure like roads, rail, air and telecommunication which will encourage investment in extractive and processing industries. They should also bring in agricultural infrastructure like farming blocks in order to encourage diversification into agriculture. Agriculture can become a larger source of wealth for the continent and its people. A robust

agricultural sector that begins to trade with other sectors of the economy will be the basis of a sustainable path to industrialisation. It will provide food security and improve balance of payments, as food imports declines.

The African government should fight against the illegal harvesting and exporting of resources by improving security in natural resources enriched regions and also in boarder areas, ports and airports.



## **Chapter Three**

### **CHALLENGES OF POOR POLITICAL CULTURE**

Before colonisation, there were traditional forms of democracy, autocracy, monarchy, and oligarchy in state-organized societies as well as stateless societies in Africa. African cultural democracy contained cultural features which are able to compel rulers and their subordinates to comply with cultural laws. African traditional political systems existed to fulfil the needs of the society and were based on communism and morality. Political authority was derived from a jural community and decision making was based on consensus in which every interest was represented hence less disputes. When Africa was colonised, the Europeans changed the political system in which they separated traditional rulership from society.

#### **Independence and Authoritarian Rule**

African politicians in the late 1950s and early 1960s were primarily interested in the issues of "independence", "national integration", and "modernisation", somewhat in that order. These leaders included Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Felix Houphouet-Boigny of Cote d'Ivoire, Sedar Senghor of Senegal and they led the struggles for African nationalism. This tiny, largely urban and westernised minority, aspired to lead their largely rural, and basically agricultural societies, still governed by traditional authorities who were often deemed decadent and reactionary. Hoping to modernize their usual mono-economies, the new African leaders often espoused an African socialism where the state controlled the economy and insisting upon the need for national integration. African leaders imposed a single party system

in order to support the integration. The political economy of Africa rose from 1960 to late 1970.

During the 1980s, Africa's political landscape was deteriorating and this period was experienced with dictatorship. This led to frequent military coups, political oppression, ethnic strife and economic degradation.

### **Western Liberal Democracy**

The western world prescribed democracy to Africa and they insisted that Africa's only solution was to adopt democracy which advocated for the right of people to elect their own government, the full exercise of fundamental human rights and free African markets. A majority of authoritarian regimes were compelled to yield political freedom and bestow civil and political rights to their citizens. For instance, between 1988 and 1992, in most cases following domestic political protest, thirty-three (33) of Africa's forty-two (42) non-democratic regimes had visibly increased civil liberties. Many African countries adopted a system of governance based on principles of liberal democracy, believing that it would lead to the stability and prosperity that the continent desperately needs. This brought about striking changes on the political landscape in Africa, with elections, multi-partyism, civil society and human rights as the new political cliches. There was general agreement in most African countries that coups must end, corruption must be rooted out, and economies must be restored. By 1994, twenty-nine (29) countries had held genuine multi-party elections which resulted in eleven (11) seating presidents to lose which was a good precedence.

Democracy has promoted greater respect for human rights and contributed to the development of an African press. Democracy also has the virtue of affirming the equality of all and providing some protection of fundamental

rights. Democracy has led to the emergence of an independent media (African Media) and civil society which represent an opportunity to begin to foster accountability and responsiveness, which are the necessary starting point to begin to address the problem of exclusion. This has opened African countries to far greater scrutiny than in the past, making it somewhat more difficult for African governments to get away with blatant and excessive abuses of democratic governance and transparency.

However, the democratisation wave in Africa mainly paved way for multiparty elections without improving the welfare of the African poor masses who queue for hours to cast their votes. Despite the implementation of liberal democracy and good governance reforms, interference from western countries in decision making, election violence, corruption, poverty and other challenges continued in Africa.

Democracy has always been attached to liberalism, self interest seeking free market principles whose implementation under the prescriptions of World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Trade Organisation (WTO) injured the poor people in Africa. Some of the big decisions affecting Africa today were more or less imposed by these three (3) organisations, for example with the liberalisation and privatisation policies in Africa. This made the people to distrust the democratisation rhetoric because there has been discrepancies on the way these bodies handle decisions of great consequences.

In addition, these bodies are hardly democratic and they make decisions on behalf of the African governments which restricts democracy because the people who governs are not seen to get involved in the process of making the decision and policies used to governments which is a big dilemma for

African leaders. For example as at 2022, these bodies were still making decisions on subsidies in Africa in which they were advocating for the total removal of subsidies. The question still hangs on,” WHO GOVERNS IN THESE AFRICAN COUNTRIES?” The democratisation process requires that the people of the country in question get involved in the taking of decisions and policies that concern them.

Through its democracy and human rights agenda, western countries led by United States of America (USA) have been pushing African leaders to accept non African cultural elements which are harmful to the societies of African nations. A good example is the correlation of democracy and human rights. For democracy to flourish, people have to enjoy equality of law and human rights protection. Human rights includes Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and transgender (LGBT) rights. LGBT rights allow people of the same sex to marry which is against the African custom. African leaders have become under pressure from the western supporters of democracy to legalise homosexuality in their respective countries in exchange of a handful of aid and debt. By 2021, several African countries were considering initiating LGBT rights while two (2) countries legalised homosexuality which are South Africa and Botswana. The western countries have actively started campaigning for homosexuality in Africa by flying the homosexuality rainbow flag in their embassies around Africa, facilitating workshops for homosexuals and using social media campaigns in order to attract more African people and countries to accept the vice. They also give moral and financial support to individuals prosecuted for homosexuality acts in African countries.

Although Africa has a history of democratic elections, it does not seem to have inclusive political institutions. This is because the current kind of

election in Africa is an imported phenomenon which was brought into African countries by foreign powers who ruled them during colonial period as a means of enabling colonial rulers to grant independence to those political parties who would win the relevant pre-independence general elections. The current elections kind are in fact an imported foreign culture which is not embedded in our African culture and traditions. This partly explains why elections in Africa have generally created numerous problems in carrying them out.

This foreign culture of elections, particularly-multi-party election is draining much of the continent's resources and is usually marred with widespread violence, conflict, intimidation and electoral fraud. And the system does not have a political level playing field; the rich and powerful individuals control the system. In some cases, chaos would reign, characterised by kidnapping and political murders. Those who can afford it would hire private security personnel for protection. The lack of African cultural elements is the biggest reason why western democracy elections fail to be meaningful in Africa.

Successive democratic administrations in Africa have left a lot to be desired in relation to fulfilling their democratic mandate through proper representation and good governance. A series of elections has produced different crops of supposed people's representatives. Yet, the socio-economic conditions of the people have not been met in a manner that justifies the fact that these representatives rule at the instance of the people, let alone represent their interests and aspirations. The gaping deficits of democracy in this regard has warranted analysis of the effect of electoral democracy in Africa as it has not brought about the needed democratic dividends in terms of efficient governance and effective representation.

Democracy discourages the selection of credible and educated Leaders. Democracy demands a fair selection of leaders and not to discriminate against education level. This leads to governments to be composed of uneducated people who do not understand public policy formulation and implementation. The uneducated leaders cannot comprehend with the deliberations in parliaments and cannot fight for new policies that support development especially in areas such as technological innovation, industrial growth, and improved living standards.

In addition to the above, in any African countries, democracy still rests on shaky foundations. There is no facilitation of the establishment of the conditions necessary for genuine democracy to take solid roots and thrive. There has been declining respect for civil and political liberties as compared to the proportion of Africans living under democracy. Authoritarians continue rigging elections and repressing political opponents. Most African leaders outlive their mandate to rule and do not want to step down when people are still clapping for them hence in the process they lose direction and end up with dictatorial tendencies. Unfortunately, too often in Africa, leaders have placed their retention of power and personal enrichment ahead of the interests of the countries they lead. As a result, their ties with the people they rule have been weakened, while their dependence on external support to stay in power has increased. It is thus not astonishing that in international negotiations, these leaders lack both the interest and the domestic support needed to effectively defend the interests of their people. Leaders such as Paul Kagame of Rwanda, Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, Denis Sassou Nguesso of Congo Brazzaville and Joseph Kabila of the Democratic Republic of Congo have equally changed their constitutions to extend presidential term limits. Such leaders are corrupt and show no

intention of serving the interests of their people or the continent. In 1986 Museveni warned against political leaders overstaying in office, unfortunately he is one of the tyrant leaders who have overstayed in Africa through changing of the constitutions, oppression and election rigging.

It must be noted that though some political leaders have changed or attempted to change their respective constitutions, Africa has loyal citizens who have fought to protect their constitutions and these include: Lovemore Madhuku of Zimbabwe, Willy Mutunga of Kenya, State Counsel John Sangwa of Zambia, Albie Sachs of South Africa and Emmanuel Kiniki of Tanzania among others.

Africa has had notable dictators such as Colonel Muammar Muhammed Gaddafi of Libya, Charles McArthur Ghankay Taylor of Liberia, Paul Mbiya of Cameroun, Robert Bob Mugabe of Zimbabwe, Omar Al Bashir of Egypt, Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola, Albert Bongo of Gabon, Joao Lourenco of Angola, Idris Derby of Chad among others.

However, the long standing dictators have been losing their grip on power as most of them are been removed through elections, protests or military coups. It must be noted that the end of one dictator does not prevent the rise of another dictator. Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) was ruled by a dictator Mobutu who was allegedly killed by Laurent Kabila through a military coup. Kabila a dictator himself was assassinated and was replaced by his son Joseph Kabila who became dictator.

A weak democracy and dictatorial tendencies are the factors leading to coups and revolutionary protests. These factors breed insecurity, corruption and economic challenges hence making the nation susceptible to coup.

Military coups in Africa have become a regular phenomenon which results pushing the continent backwards in terms of development. A coup lowers growth in per capita as the nations fail to engage much needed economic reforms. This leads to increased indebtedness and deterioration of net external financial position resulting in economic challenges. In 2021, there were three (3) military takeovers in African countries: President Bah N'daw was captured and forced to resign in Mali (Mali has so far five (5) military coups since its independence), President Alpha Conde was ousted out in Guinea and the coup in Sudan. Other leaders removed through coups are President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe in 2017, Hosni Mubarak in 2011 among others. In addition, in the past few years Africa has experienced revolutionary demonstrations. The citizens of African countries taking up the streets demonstrating and calling for the removal of their leaders. The following leaders were removed through demonstrations: Blaise Compaore of Burkina Faso, Yahya Jammeh of Gambia, Omar Bashir of Sudan.

### **Solutions to the Challenges of Poor Political Culture**

Africa's post-colonial economic performance remains depressing and prospects from the new millennium are, to put it bluntly, gloomy. In addition, virtually, all African countries are underdeveloped despite experimenting on the different types of leadership and policies. The west introduced democracy as a panacea to African problems but it failed to improve the situation because it did not embrace African values. Despite its inefficiencies, democracy has been able to maintain peace and good governance which is good for the development of the continent. There is need for African governments to practice democracy but not to accept all principles that comes with it. Some principles of democracy are good for the continent while others are toxic and not favourable for the African



countries. Democracy is thus a good starting point. African governments need some very creative experiments in pro-democratic engineering in the direction of promoting inclusion.

African countries should alter the western democracy in order to suit the local conditions. They need to go back to African cultural democracy and embrace it with the good liberal democratic principles like elections, good governance and support for human rights without distorting African value system. All the foreign cultures which comes with democracy and are not in unison with our local cultures should be disbanded and replaced by values which support our African culture and behaviour. Homosexuality which the western countries term Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) rights has been spreading fast in Africa with the help of the west. African leaders should come up with policies which support the immediate deportation of any foreigner advocating for homosexuality including diplomats. The diplomats from western countries should not be allowed to raise the homosexuality rainbow flag, carryout homosexual workshops or any campaigns for homosexuality on the African land. African leaders should be challenged to come out and explain their stance on homosexuality unlike paying a deaf ear to the calls of the people.

African indigenous democracy is based on African philosophy of communism and morality which supports responsiveness, participation and accountability among the local people and includes decentralisation of governance with autonomous sub units, people's involvement, family representation in government, consultations, high moral standards of leadership, non monetisation of political positions, supremacy of culture, leadership training, traditional oath taking, easy provision for the disposition of unresponsive leadership, communal effort to achieve

development, low cost administrative structure, hard work and equal access to resources.

The African governments should decentralise fully in order to support local participation at local governance level, the devolution of authority to the regions to increase participation at the grassroots and secure minority participation. African leaders must take a national unification approach where participation of chiefs in the affairs of the country must be encouraged through full decentralisation. This is the level where people have some real decision-making power over and above the formal consent of electoral choice; a social democracy that places emphasis on concrete political, social and economic rights.

Social and leadership values are important for spurring the pace of national development. There is greater need for national unity and participation. There is supposed to be cultural rebirth where traditional rulers are to be restored fully with their authority. Cultural institutions and the modern state machinery are supposed to work together. Cultural institutions address national unity, mobilization, and the welfare of society. Traditional leaders will help to preserve local languages and culture which are under serious assault from external forces. The revival of these traditional institutions carries the potential for getting greater participation because of a more natural sense of self-belonging.

Africans must therefore do everything possible to ensure that their countries are led by educated and competent leaders, dedicated to the welfare of their people, and whose strength emanates from the support of the people they lead. Also minimum qualifications must be policy supported in order to

attract credible and knowledgeable leaders who can articulate policy issues and galvanize development.

Civil society organizations in Africa must propagate indigenous democratic values, socialising their members in these values, and defending democratic principles and social justice in the society as a whole. The civil society organisations should fight for the governments to implement democracy with far- reaching changes in the assumptions, values and objectives of the existing states, so as to transform them into truly developmental states that are strong without being authoritarian.

## **Chapter Four**

### **THE CHALLENGE OF CORRUPTION**

Transparency and accountability are some of the dimensions of rule of law. Transparency and accountability requires freedom of information, including an act to ensure that citizens can acquire information about how government makes decisions, conducts business, and spends public money. Effective political and economic governance in Africa will not only make rulers accountable for their actions and decisions, but it would also enhance and promote rule of law in the continent. This will breed political legitimacy and stability in Africa. This is vital because development can only be meaningful and sustainable in a peaceful and conducive environment. Lack of transparency and accountability in Africa is the main source of corruption.

There are two types of corruption practices experienced in Africa. The first one is petty corruption where officials in government departments request payment to perform tasks or provide services which they should be doing as part of their job. This category involves outright theft, bribery, embezzlement of funds or other appropriation of state property, nepotism and the granting of favours to personal acquaintances, and the abuse of public authority and position to attract payments and privileges.

The other classification is called ‘Grand Political Corruption’, which is large scale corruption where government officials amass large fortunes. African countries have become the personal estates of official criminal mafias whose main aim is not the development of their countries, but rather the siphoning of national resources into foreign banks. They mismanage the countries’ funds and natural resources. They waste the wealth of the nation by purchasing foreign and exotic goods and services for themselves, friends

and cronies. They also steal large amount of money through inflated contracts, frauds and other dubious methods. In Africa, these groups have gone to an extent of diverting funds for important projects like infrastructural projects whilst claiming that they have completed the projects. They often take the monies to off shore accounts in the western world, thereby depriving the country even the benefits of reaping from investing the stolen money in the country.

### **Effects of Corruption**

Corruption in African countries is hindering economic, political and socio-cultural development.

From the political view point, corruption has the capacity of causing political instability, breakdown of law and order, brain drain, inefficiency of the public service among others.

Viewed from the economic perspective, corruption is no doubt an enemy of economic development in the international scene, as it gives the continent a poor image in the international scene and it gives the continent poor image in interpersonal and business relationships. Corruption has been a cause for concern because it diverts already limited funds, undermines economic progress and impedes policy changes required for development. Apart from lost revenue or funds diverted from their intended use, inefficiencies and waste resulting from corrupt practices are more problematic over the long-term and thus make it more difficult to address. Corruption increases the costs of doing business, wastes resources, hence radically reduce revenues accruing to the state. In addition, Economic and social infrastructural facilities are vandalized to create room for unnecessary replacement and purchases or conversion to personal use. Trade and commerce cannot thrive, as investors will be unwilling to invest much trade

or business in this part of the world, the overall resulting effects of all these malpractices will be increase in the rate of inflation, unemployment and decline in output, foreign reserves. More than this, corruption affects the wellbeing of individuals, families and communities.

In the socio-cultural context, corruption apart from engendering poverty has the capacity of changing the social values of a good and progressive society dramatically to nothing else than the crazy pursuit of wealth affluences, power and society recognition. People no longer appreciate the virtues of good morals, conduct and practices. People refuse to work unless they are paid additional payment hence leading to poor service delivery.

Most African countries have long had legislation to prevent corrupt practices and stringent penalties for those found engaging in them, including blacklisting, seizing of assets, mandatory dismissal from public office and some time, legal action. In most cases however, these have been ineffectual because they have not been invoked or because important figures have been exempted. Political will is therefore essential to ensure that anti-corruption legislation and administrative measures are enforced.

Corruption provides civil servants in public offices with the opportunity to raise their compensation above what the law prescribes. Through the practice of corruption, private entrepreneurs are able to capture and maintain monopoly positions in the economy. Politicians, who serve as wealth brokers, obtain the resources they need to purchase security and continue to monopolize the supply of legislation. The biggest loser from corruption is society as a whole. Corruption allows inefficient producers to remain in business, encourages governments to pursue perverse economic policies, and provides opportunities to bureaucrats and politicians to enrich themselves through extorting bribes from those seeking government

favours. Thus, corruption distorts economic incentives, discourages entrepreneurship, and slows economic growth.

### **Corruption Experience in Africa**

Africa's corruption problem is the subject of considerable global debate. On the one hand, the continent is justifiably praised for commitment in the fight against corruption. African leaders have been fighting corruption and the result is the reduction of corruption cases on the continent. Good examples of such leaders are Paul Kagame, President of Rwanda, Late Levy Patrick Mwanawasa, Former President of Zambia; Muhammadu Buhari, President of Nigeria; Late John Pombe Magufuli, former President of Tanzania. In addition Africa's great citizens have been working with integrity and accountability to transform their countries. Good examples of such are Faustina Ndikumana of Burundi, Dr. Sishuwa Sishuwa of Zambia, Thuli Masedela of South Africa, Ndonyo D of Senegal, Professor PLO Lumumba of Kenya, and Dr. Stella Nyazi of Uganda. A series of reforms have been carried out in most of the African countries so as to make the African countries efficient and result oriented. Much of the progress made by African countries on corruption index can be seen in countries like Namibia, Ghana, Mauritius, Seychelles, Botswana, and Cape Verde topping the African rankings on the index.

On the other hand, Corruption in Africa appears to be unmoved and the continent remains most burdened with it. Africa presents a typical case of the countries in the world whose development has been undermined and retarded by the menace of corrupt practices and it is ranked among the world's most corrupt continent. Without doubt, corruption has permeated the African societies and it is viewed as a normal thing to do for one to get a service. The situation has gone so bad to the extent that whichever way one

views corruption, it involves a violation of public duty or deviation from high moral standards in exchange for personal pecuniary gains. It is connected with moral and dishonest acts. Corruption in African countries is viewed as normal by the general citizenry and involves a breakdown of the rule of law and loss of state legitimacy. It perverts the normal use of connections, networks and reciprocity and leads to increased personalisation of power. As a result, people come to rely on connections and favours instead of formal political, social and economic rules and illegitimate use of state resources becomes acceptable. The most corrupt countries in Africa includes Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Libya, Zimbabwe, Somalia , Eritrea, Mali, Djibouti, South Sudan ,Gambia and Democratic Republic of Congo.

African governments are riddled with cases of corrupt leaders who show no intention of serving the interests of their people. Most ruling parties in African states are funded by corrupt politicians in order not to be investigated by the sponsored government. This has further strengthen the level of corruption in these countries as politicians who loot the state treasury often support or align themselves with the ruling party in order not to be prosecuted. A corrupt government leads to poor education, a poor healthcare system, poverty, the economic gap between classes of people, economic instability, malnutrition, non-existent security among others and all of this leads to nothing but deterioration of a nation.

Most African countries since their independences have been ruled by corrupt presidents. It is sad that as of today, it has become common feature for the past presidents in Africa to face prosecution for corruption and corruption related cases such as Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal, Jacob Zuma of South Africa, Fredrick Chiluba of Zambia, Joyce Banda of Malawi, among others. The nature of African politics has been highly politically contestable such that victory in most elections are considered as a matter of



life and death and aspirants will involve in all forms of political vendetta in order to capture or retain political power by whatever means possible. The act of political vendetta that characterized African politics has made politics in Africa a means to an end and not an end itself. This is because the focuses of governance in most African states have shifted from addressing developmental challenges facing the state to amassing wealth. All the leaders who want to be elected in Africa promise to end corruption before they are elected but immediately after taking over they forget. They do not fully forget that corruption exists in Africa but they also continue from where the previous leaders ended.

In most cases, civil society groups and human rights groups put up a fierce fight against corruption. However, their fights are neutralised because most of them only see corruption in leaders who are distant from them but the corrupt activities of politicians whom they find favour in is not visible to them. So often, these groups will fight fiercely against and help in convincing the masses of removing a government by decampaigning based on corruption in anticipation of being favoured by the next government. When the government changes, the leaders of the civil society and human rights groups are given jobs in government and some are given monetary reward hence they forget their cause while corruption escalates.

In Africa, anti corruption programs depend primarily on the enforcement agencies, the national judiciary, and the press, and assume that those agencies are appropriately constrained by the law and are free of corruption. In addition to the fact that few African countries have a press that is independent and free of government manipulation, the enforcement agencies and national judiciary systems have poorly designed institutional patterns and disorganized structures. The implication of this is that since African states enforcement institutions are weak as most of these

institutions lack the capacity to deal with the issues of corruption .In addition, many office bearers are themselves corrupt and cannot be counted on to provide the leadership needed to run effective anti corruption programs. In most African countries, these institutions are not properly constrained by the law and are pervaded by high levels of corruption. The most corrupt in Africa among the enforcement groups are the police forces and services and they boast of the highest frequency of bribery. This is brought about due to lack of decisive actions by authorities of these police forces and services against those who go against their oath of service. This vice has spread to other enforcement wings and the courts of law are not spared either. Court officials including judges and magistrates have been entangled in bribery, abuse of office and other corruption activities. As a result of the above situation, the judiciary and enforcement agencies are not appropriate instruments for anti-corruption programs and it is unlikely for corruption fight to be effective.

Another impediment to combating corruption in Africa is discretionary anti-corruption laws. Anti-corruption laws within the African continent are weak in dealing with critical issues like funding of terrorism, tax evasion, inflation of contracts, drug trafficking as well as other monies derive from serious crime. Anti corruption laws in Africa is characterised with lack of stiffer penalties for corrupt culprits which has not served as deterrence needed to discourage those involving themselves in corruption as a lucrative venture. The maximum penalty for corruption in Africa is mostly 3-5 years imprisonment with the lowest been confiscation and forfeiture of all the asset and payment for compensations for indulging in corruption to the state. In some cases in Africa, some corrupt criminals have dared the government for the confiscation of assets acquired from proceeds of crime by suing the state.

Most African anti-corruption laws in African states especially in countries like Zambia, Nigeria, Kenya and South Africa grant certain immunities to some political leaders by making the procedure of prosecuting such leaders when found guilty of corruption charges difficult. The government officials negotiate with corrupt criminals for immunity from prosecution in exchange to pay back a percentage of the loot. This depicts that immunity has paved way for impunity in some African states as political privileges provides a way of escape for corrupt public office holders from being prosecuted which in turn re-enforces the nature of corruption. Besides, there are certain acts that encourage corruption which Transparency International called “according to law corruption” which most laws in Africa permits but in the true sense it is just corruption. For instance, the law that permit contractors to the governments in Nigeria and Zambia to demand for and obtain some percentages of contract sums, usually ten percent (10%) of contract awarded by a public official acting on behalf of the government also constitute an act of corruption. Also, the limited autonomy given to anti-corruption agencies in African states especially in countries like Nigeria, Kenya, Malawi, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Liberia, Guinea, and Botswana amongst others to effectively combat corruption has posed a severe threat the working of these institutions. In short, anti-corruption institutions are often accused of acting according to the “body language of the President”. This implies that anti-corruption institutions in most African states only prosecute those the President considered to be corrupt or victimized those he/she considered as “political enemies”.

Incumbents also use anti corruption programs to help them stay in power and continue to monopolize the supply of legislation and the allocation of resources. Anti corruption programs can be used to discredit members of a

previous regime, to destroy the reputations of leaders of the opposition, and to improve support among the population for the incumbent regime. Even if a government seriously and honestly wishes to anti corruption, existing approaches suffer from at least one obstacle: their success depends on the effectiveness of the counteracting agencies. In addition, an incumbent leader faced with deteriorating economic and social conditions and a challenge from opposition parties or groups may initiate a campaign to cleanup corruption within his administration in an effort to direct attention away from existing problems and the government's inability or unwillingness to provide effective solutions for those problems.

This act of selective justice has made most anti-corruption institutions in Africa to be described as a toothless Bull Dogs that cannot bite but bark that is if the owners permit it to bark. Furthermore, the wrong perception about governance in Africa has made most political leaders in Africa to see governance as avenue to amass wealth. The shift in the priorities of most African leaders from promoting economic development through the administration of social services that will better the life of the citizenry to looting of state treasury at the detriment of the citizens is a serious issue and is responsible for the slow the pace of development in Africa.

### **Solutions to the Challenges of Corruption**

The kind of corruption Africa is facing cannot be eliminated. However, it is possible to reduce it to low levels as long as there are strategies to address the graft. Corruption involves choices- it does not just happen. Fraud and corruption require that people choose to engage in corrupt practices and have the opportunity to do so. Strategies to address corruption therefore have to address the element of choice as well as that of opportunity. African governments have to make corrupt activities as high- risk and low- gain, as

opposed to a low-risk and high-gain. The strategies have to be made according to country-situation as what works in one country may not necessarily work in another country. Measures to address corruption have to be put in place by specific countries themselves. In all African countries where corruption is widespread and entrenched there is need to re-establish governmental legitimacy and re-build institutions as well as hitting hard at corrupt individuals and practices. Combating corruption is neither straightforward nor easy, but it is possible. There is need for African countries to move from being generally very corrupt to a situation in which corruption exists but is not widespread and pervasive.

In addition, leadership, political will and public support are essential to the success of any anti-corruption effort and that the causes and not just the consequences of corruption must be addressed. Political leadership is required to set an example and to demonstrate that no-one is above the law by setting a high profile focus on specific actions which can be extremely useful in sending a strong signal that corruption will not be tolerated.

Again, governments implementing anti-corruption measures have to demonstrate seriousness and achieve results to build public confidence. This implies that they will have to pursue longer-term governance improvements and institution building goals as well as focus on specific actions which can have an impact in the short term. Attention should be given to a mutually supportive broader policy of reforms like reducing government involvement in the economy, streamlining government functions and limiting the discretionary decision making authority of officials. This will reduce opportunities for corruption, while economic reforms can eliminate the government monopolies and economic distortions which facilitate it.

There is also a need for African countries to develop transparent, open and accountable public offices such as the civil service, parliament and the judiciary, which in turn will create interlocking systems of oversight and self-regulation. All of these institutions have to be free of corruption themselves and active players in the fight against corruption. In addition, asset declaration and code of conduct is critical in combating institutional corruption in Africa. This should be done before assuming office and after leaving the office. This will go a long way to monitor or check the tendency of public office holders acquiring property or confiscating public asset for personal use.

The Anti corruption agencies and the courts of law should be fully independent from the office of the president. These institutions should not be used by the presidents or the political parties as political vendettas on the opposition parties and their leaders or people who criticise the government. Parliaments should create the legislative body for addressing corruption, as well as promoting governmental accountability and acting as a check on the president and ministers. And it should allocate budget for the anti corruption agencies, appoint staff and receive the annual report to the legislation. The anti-corruption agencies should have a direct budgetary allocation from the annual budget. And most importantly, court rulings have to be protected from political interference and judicial independence has to be assured. A functioning and professional legal system and access to justice are also necessary.

The creation of a meritocratic civil service is a basic requirement for limiting corrupt practices and rebuilding public confidence in the government bureaucracy. This can be done by total decentralization of the public sector. Corruption usually arises from the concentration of power in

the hands of a few politicians and bureaucrats, and that a process decentralisation provides citizens with greater access to public institutions will significantly minimize opportunities for corruption within the country. Under decentralisation, an effective anti-corruption program emphasizes political deregulation and the subsequent expansion of opportunities for citizens to participate in governance. This decentralisation should be accompanied by e-governance system. The use of web-based Internet applications and other information technologies, combined with processes that implement these technologies will enhance reduced corruption, increased transparency, greater convenience, revenue growth, and/or cost reductions of government funds.

Similarly, a culture of honesty and professionalism needs to be created and thus incentives as well as sanctions have to be employed. Government workers should be adequately remunerated while promotion should also be based on competence and performance. Their salaries should be enough to sustain their families. This will go a long way at reducing the incidence of misappropriation and embezzlement of public fund that have always starved African governments the much needed funds for developmental activities.

Corruption cannot be seen in isolation. Its effects permeate societies. Without the active involvement of civil society, including the private sector and the population at large, it will not be possible to combat corruption. Societal attitudes can either encourage or discourage corruption. Changing attitudes is also a slow process, but the creation of a normative environment in which corruption is not condoned is essential. Until the public at large is convinced that corrupt practices do not pay, they will continue. Anti-corruption strategies in Africa will be most effective when they are participative and inclusive of all stakeholders in the society.

Participatory efforts should be made possible in order to ensure that the reforms and political will to act against corruption and to strengthen governance generally is sustainable.

Civil society in Africa has to emerge as a strong voice in development. They need to do more in the area of pressurising the government at the domestic level to entrench transparency and accountability in governance by ensuring that the anti-corruption laws are enforced. They should also serve as whistle blowers against any act of corruption and ensure that every act of corruption should not be swept under the carpet. They can achieve this when they work closely with the media which will help provide the citizens with the required anti-corruption initiatives.



## **Chapter Five**

### **LACK OF CITIZEN PATRIOTISM AND YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS**

Patriotism is an emotional journey of loyalty, allegiance, impartial love and total obedience to one's place or one's chosen place other than one's place of birth, which bestows all the rights and privileges accorded to him/her by the constitution. Patriotism is conceptually more related to people's feelings. Patriotism is not the specific allegiance to a nation-state, as we may reserve this for nationalism. But patriotism may concern attachment to an ethnos regardless of whether the latter has the status of the national-state, or belongs to a multi-national state.

African countries enjoyed patriotism from its citizens especially during the liberation period for independence. Their patriotic zeal and actions were amazing and they took on the colonialists without fear and fought with pride for the new nations free from the shackles of colonialism. Our founding fathers and leaders of the independent nations seemed to have patriotism in their Deoxyribonucleic Acid (DNA). Whilst they may have bickered or even fought each other, they had something stronger in common – faith in the national independence. These leaders sought for and defended the common good and it was the basis for trust in governance and leadership. African history is replete with courageous acts of these leaders, leaving us proud inheritors of their hard work and sacrifice.

One would have hoped that their descendants would have imbibed these values with a feverish love for country. Unfortunately patriotism in African countries has deteriorated over time and selfishness take centre stage in the politicians of these nations. Individual interest, tribalism, ethnic and

regional agenda is now valued to be more than national interest in the political elites. Today's African politicians rarely share words and actions that inspire love for their countries. For the political class, there is neither national ethos nor ideals so nothing acts as a bond between them and national aspirations.

In addition, African politicians are busy enriching themselves and the people close to them from the countries' resources at the expense of the general masses. The number of African politicians in respective countries been prosecuted for corruption related cases and abuse of office has been rising. The rise is clearly a function of public office holders placing their self interest above common good.

The conducts of members of the National Assemblies leaves much to be desired. Listening to debate daily, it is obvious to the least discerning that apart from a few, honourable and distinguished members are champions of personal interest, of constituency and primordial interest above national aspiration and common good. The language of debate does not lift one's spirit nor inspire hope of a great country where every citizen will feel a sense of pride and security. If the National Assembly, which typically should be the most nationalistic institution, is not dominated by persons who display unquestionable patriotic spirit, then there is nowhere else to find role models.

The above situation has been discouraging the citizens from been politically active such that they hardly take pride in their citizenship nor do they speak proudly of their countries. Today's citizens do not know how to sing their national anthem and are not interested displaying the national flag. Citizens

do not have any form of emotional attachment to those national symbols and they do not have faith in the countries. Some citizens do not feel obliged to love and respect their countries because of failure for their governments to provide them with basic security; physical, economic and social security. They feel disappointed with leadership is perceived lack of vision, inability to maintain law and order and most importantly insecurity in all dimensions confronting us.

### **The African Youths and Leadership**

Africa's young people are the future of the continent. Africa has sixty percent (60%) of its population under the age of thirty (30) years. This means African youths have an important role to play in shaping the future of the continent and the actions that African youths are taking today have critical ramifications for Africa's place in the world tomorrow. African youths are faced with many challenges including lack of employment opportunities, poverty, poor education, poor health services and gender biases. Youth participation in politics and leadership in the past decades had gained significance in Africa. Through joining youth groups, social and online networks, young people in large numbers are promoting human rights and socio-economic justice, subscribing to a vision of counter-power where the government is not doing well. Youth activism in Africa does not exist in a vacuum. It has long been there from the time the African countries were fighting for independence where the youths helped the revolutionary leaders to achieve independence for their respective countries.

The youth activism wave continued in the 1990s with the advent of Multiparty Democracy political system where many youth advocacy groups were formed to champion youth revolution against human rights abuses, unemployment, and corruption among others. Despite being a population affected by socio-economic problems and unemployment, young people in Africa are still engaged in their environments through participation in youth organisations and conquering social networks and communities to promote their activist agendas, subscribing to the vision of power for themselves where the government is seen lacking. The youth organisations derive the funds to operate the organisations through contributions from the youth members, donations and sometimes from NGOs and the governments depending on the agenda of the youth organisation. Many of these youth organisations do not have legal recognition but they remain committed to breaking down social barriers and contributing to society. However, youth participation has been slowly losing ground in Africa because of the following:

Africans are still stuck in the traditional ways of doing things and embrace a specific culture on leadership matters. Changes in the culture of leadership and allowing young and enthusiastic people to take over leadership positions in Africa are suppressed. Struggle credentials are used as a barometer to measure the leadership capacity of individuals who are not assisting the African continent. The youths are usually excluded from the issues of governance in Africa because governance is perceived as the preserve of the elderly people. This can be inferred from the many elections that have been held across the continent since post colonial era. Most of the African presidents are elected at the age of sixty- five (65) years and above, and the majority of them are above the age of seventy (70) years. Electoral laws require candidates vying for presidency to be above thirty-seven (37)

years. This automatically knocks out the youths from participating for presidential elections. The minimum age for one to be elected for Member of Parliament (MP) is twenty-one (21) years. However, most preferences by political parties is given to people above forty (40) years as they are viewed as mentally stable and experienced as compared to the youths. When you check through the various cabinets across Africa, you will discover that majority of members are very old. The generation that is in leadership in Africa does not believe that the new generation can lead countries in the continent.

Youths have become reluctant in taking part in the governance of their countries. In most cases youths are discontent with the ruling governments. Young people are instrumental in ushering political change and they expect change to come with new and vibrant policies of tackling corruption and improving their livelihoods. However, the young people in Africa have realised that they are been used as stepping stones by the political leaders and also by their youth group leaders. The political leaders use the youths as tools of political violence in which the political leaders hire young people to physically attack their opponents and in some instances dangerous weapons are used in maiming or killing the opponents. This has led to reported clashes among youths and in return they are given little money, food, beer and drugs, and some are promised employment or business opportunities once their candidate wins. When they win, they forget the plight of the youths and concentrate on selfish agenda of empowering themselves at the expense of the youths and the masses they are representing. In some instances, the new representatives only reward the youth leaders who also do not consider sharing the cake with their fellow youths who participated. The elected leaders become arrogant to the youths who voted for them.

In addition, youths are used as praise singers for the ruling governments to cover up the wrong doings and corruption. The government leaders give money to youth leaders to organise and influence fellow youths so that they give praises and protect the government regardless of the activities by the government and its officials, good or bad. This has created lack of trust of young people in their elected representatives and this has led to the perception among youths that politicians are generally corrupt and whoever associates with them is bound to be corrupt.

### **Solutions to the Challenges of Citizens' Patriotism and Youth Participation in Politics**

Africa lacks ethical leaders and this affects the planning of the next set of leadership because they are not ethical. Leaders who do not have leadership ethics portray an image that leaders are not supposed to be ethical. That image will also apply to the generation that would take over. The incumbent leadership in Africa is unpatriotic and selfish. They do not plan for their exit or think that there are leaders that can lead after them. If ever leaders allow themselves to leave leadership positions, they put people that will continue from where they left so that they seek protection after they leave power. Leaders in independent Africa are looting state resources and they are fully aware that they are doing wrong things. They nurture leaders that will come after them to protect them and also loot the leftovers. That is contributing to the decline of the African economy, the African economy is one step forward and ten steps backward. This has contributed to the decline of patriotism by Africans. Africa needs a generation of leaders that will change the status quo. We need leaders who are patriotic and selfless, leaders who do not tolerate corruption and work tirelessly for their citizens and respective countries. This will improve the rate of patriotism by the general citizenry.

There is need for the change of attitude by the citizens so that they become more patriotic and show their love for their respective countries. The citizen must know all the verses for their national anthems and should show love and interest for the national flag. This can be done by the government putting up a strict policy of civic education at all levels of schooling. African leaders should therefore concentrate their efforts on sensitizing and educating the citizens on their civic, social, economic and cultural rights and responsibilities, and empowering them so that they could defend their rights and interests, while contributing fully to the overall development of their countries.

There is need for the leadership to incorporate youths in politics, decision making and leadership so that they can be groomed to take over the mantle. Current leaders have a responsibility to engage and cultivate Africa's youths for active leadership. Political leaders should design youth centred policies. And they need to put in place infrastructure as well as peace accords and trade partnerships that will allow young people to reach their full potential as adults. Looking at the situation in Africa today, it seems like the generation that will change Africa is the current youths. This new generation of youths need to be fully empowered to realise their best potential. Involving young people in politics is not just a question of inclusion but one that is vital for economic growth, innovation, peace and security. It is important that young people are included in decision making and given appropriate opportunities for work and to innovate.

For Africa to develop as it should, the diverse ethnic, linguistic, and religious groups in the society must honestly come together to achieve a common purpose—that is to create a positive socio-political change for the

benefit of every group. Without this, the livelihood of the millions of ordinary Africans who are stuck in abject poverty will not change and Africa will remain underdeveloped.



## **Chapter Six**

### **CHALLENGE OF CIVIL CONFLICT AND WARS IN AFRICA**

In Africa, there has been substantial progress in democratization, and this has had profound impact on the socio-political and economic dynamics of the region. Since 1990, more than a lot of multiparty presidential elections have been held. Twenty-one of these were held for the first time. In many countries, opposition parties have taken root, having gained official recognition. In a number of countries, the leadership has shown a high level of commitment to improving welfare through economic and social reforms. However, much is still to be done to ensure that the wind of change brings along socio-political stability. Conflicts remain a major challenge in the continent. The major prevalent conflicts in Africa are internal armed conflict and international conflict.

Civil conflicts have occurred in many African countries since 1996, resulting in severe human suffering, increased poverty, material destruction, and extensive dislocation of economic activities. Conflicts in Africa are a major threat to socio-political and economic stability, which are fundamental to efficient allocation of public resources, private sector investment and growth, capacity building and retention and sustained economic growth and poverty reduction.

Throughout the post independence era, Africa has been witness to increasing proportions of civilian deaths in conflict around the continent. In addition, attacks and atrocities against non-combatants became widely employed as deliberate strategies of warfare – including such tactics as systematic rape, mass executions, ethnic cleansing, and even genocide. The

human and social cost of conflict does not end here. Mass migrations within and between countries reduce human security through environmental degradation, inadequate sanitation, increased health problems, lack of access to food and physical insecurity, abject poverty, inadequate service provision, political instability, retarded economic growth thus giving rise to further humanitarian emergencies.

The physical costs of war contribute to human and social costs through damage to hospitals, schools, roads and bridges, vital in the provision of necessary services and access to functioning markets, which make reconstruction efforts all the more complex. The destruction of farmlands and roads reduce the chances for economic revival, presenting further challenges to the survivors of the conflict who cannot resurrect a sustainable livelihood, and the lingering threat to physical security reduces the chances for those who can. The direct and indirect results of intrastate conflict leave a complex lasting legacy that is difficult to erase.

There have been a number of multifaceted reasons explaining the increased incidence of ethnic conflicts on the continent, including conflicts over basic resources such as:

Colonization of Africa by European powers in the 19th century created political units that divided ethnic groups in some cases and combined rival groups in others. As currently composed, boundaries of most African states were arbitrarily drawn without regard to ethnic and cultural affinities. In some cases, European boundaries forced starkly different, rival cultures to cohabit within the confines of a single state. The impacts of these borders were felt to varying degrees from one country to the other throughout Africa.

Multi-ethnic states are likely to continue to be a feature of international politics and that ethnic conflict is not only a threat to the African continent but also a menace to the whole international community. However, one cannot deny the fact ethno political conflicts have been on the increase in Africa throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century. This is probably not unconnected with the factor of ethnic diversity of most African states and the resultant problem of ethnicity. Multi- ethnicity is the most frequently associated with conflict. Truly, given the fact that ethnic cleavages are already deep and political discrimination against minority groups is widely practiced in Africa, ethnicity cannot but be a great potential for separatist activities. Ethnicity has bred the feelings of suspicion, hatred and distrust among members of the various ethnic groups in Africa and has no doubt retarded political integration in Africa. It is therefore not surprising to note that at least twice (1967-70 civil war and 1993 -1999 friction) ethnic rivalry has been the major cause of internal conflicts in Nigeria. Similar stories may also be told of Liberia, Ethiopia, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Somalia, Sudan, Congo and a host of other Africa states.

Africa has consistently suffered from the problem of inept leadership which has retarded political integration and unity in almost all African states. Given the heterogeneous composition of most African states, perhaps what they needed most are the virtues of administrative tact, political tolerance and social justice. These essential ingredients are to be provided by the continent's leadership. Unfortunately however, the realities on ground in most African nations reveal that most African leaders are weak, corrupt and unpatriotic. Apart from retarding national integration and socio- economic developments, the attitudes of these rulers have sparked off widespread bloody violence. Sudanese, Nigerian, Algerian, Liberian and Ethiopian civil wars occurred because African leaders failed to forge national unity in their

respective countries. What African countries have lacked during most of their history, as independent states are leaders who are unifiers, leaders in the true sense, who bind wounds, hold everything and everyone together, mobilize and motivate their people, pursue a policy of inclusion rather than exclusion and are seen by one and all to be of the highest integrity and beyond suspicion. The point therefore is that African leadership must be acceptable to all sections of the community if the process of integration is not to be halted. Until then, a recurrence of conflicts across Africa may continue to be a common phenomenon.

One of the major factors responsible for internal conflicts in Africa is the devastating impact of corruption. Corruption, manifested in the embezzlement and misappropriation of public funds, has paralyzed development efforts and caused weak march towards socio-economic transformation and political integration in Africa. Africa's resources have been badly managed over the years making masses to be fed up with their leaders. This has provoked militant nationalism against African leaders. The result, expectedly, is the unending conflict across African states.

Minerals are a source of wealth but also a source war in Africa. Strong evidence links mining of minerals to local conflicts in several African countries. Certain minerals like gold, diamond, tin, tungsten among others have been linked with funding violence, rape, killings and other human rights abuses among others. Militias steal minerals through creating illegal mining activities using aggression and sell the minerals mined at the black market. These minerals can enter Multi-National Companies (MNCs) and are used to manufacture consumer products like rings and studs, computers, phones and cars among others. The militias use the proceeds from the minerals to fund their operations in terms of buying guns and feeding the

soldiers and expansions to other lucrative areas. Countries most affected are in Western Africa including Angola, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Central Africa including Central African Republic and Democratic Republic of Congo and Mozambique in Southern Africa.

Poverty is another cause of war in Africa. Without much controversy, one may boldly declare that poverty is the root of all evils in Africa. A poor man, who has been economically humiliated and financially traumatized may not be said to be in his right senses. Hence, it may be apt to observe that a hungry man is a mad man. He can steal, kill, maim and destroy. Poverty can demean a man and affect his psychology negatively. Africa is one of the poorest continents of the world. This is largely due to harsh environmental conditions, corruption and huge foreign debt that exacerbate the conditions of poverty. For instance, desertification has contributed to famines in a number of African states such as Ethiopia and Mali. As a result, the number of people living in extreme poverty in Africa grew from 415 million in 2011 to more than 490 million in 2021. If therefore the saying is true that a hungry man is an angry man, then conflicts may for long be a part of Africa life owing to this situation of absolute poverty prevalent across the continent.

The impact of intrastate conflict on social interactions and systems is evident, with community dislocation across many levels being the result. Individual suffering is significant and this has intrinsic implications for the survival of the family, which represents the nucleus of the community. Individuals struggle to rebuild their lives and communities, while faced with uncertainty about the future and fear of the past. With everything around them broken and the causes of the conflict very often remaining, albeit in a latent form, the potential for societal renewal is depleted. Weak social

capacity to manage social change and emergent conflict is further undermined and the society's capacity to manage future conflicts in a peaceful way is lessened. The result of this is a reduced ability to recover from intrastate conflict and an increased probability of conflict renewal. This creates an altogether problematic paradox. Some of these are briefly examined below:

The challenge of rebuilding institutions and systems beset by extreme destruction becomes all the more daunting when one takes into account that 'intimate exposure to brutality and subsequent displacement and civil disorder leave individuals psychologically scarred and the intricate network of social interaction deeply torn. As trust is diminished, cooperation and communication reduce and fear increases resulting in the stagnation of societal activity and development. All countries coming out of conflict face major challenges of reconstruction in order to avoid a recurrence to violence. It is important to state that during war times, infrastructural facilities are destroyed while loyalty, patriotism and mutual relations are broken between hitherto friendly peoples and nations. Such broken relationships must be mended to ensure lasting peace between fighting groups while the destroyed facilities are to be replaced. In the absence of communication, further fractionalisation of society first becomes possible and is then exacerbated as when such division is 'linked with acute social uncertainty, a history of conflict and, indeed, fear of what the future may bring, it emerges as one of the major fault lines along which society fractures. It is dialogue that is necessary to stabilise and sustain societal relations as dialogue is the first step in providing a sense of belonging, for by communication and listening we take the first step toward recognising our own commonality. However, constructive dialogue in such an environment is difficult to achieve. This has been the general trend of

events in Africa and has been retarding growth and development in the region.

Wars and conflicts in Africa have combined to compound the problem of unemployment in the continent. Today, throughout Africa, high rate of unemployment, particularly of youths, is a major source of concern. It has been growing at an annual rate of ten percent (10%). In countries coming out of conflict, many young people not only lack employment; they have also been denied education and economic empowerment because of war. It is instructive to note that without other means of economic support, there is a danger that unemployed former combatants will engage in criminal behaviour, especially with the many small arms in circulation in war-torn countries.

A great number of Africans including young, old, male, female, civilians and military men alike, have lost their lives to various wars and conflicts on the continent. It is disheartening to note that this unprecedented loss of lives in Africa as a result of wars and conflicts is having serious impact on human resources available to Africa. The services of the departed souls whom Jehovah God has endowed with great skills, talents and potentials are no longer available to be harnessed for Africa's development.

One of the effects of wars and conflicts in Africa is the emergence of numerous number of displaced persons who have become refugees in different nations across the continent. It is sad to note that violence and lawlessness have caused a severe humanitarian crisis in Africa as many displaced people are now spread throughout the continent. They became refugees in neighbouring countries in the region. As refugees, the affected persons have been exposed to serious risks of diseases and hunger.

Continued strife and political instability in most countries of Africa hurt the continent's economic fortunes. Indeed, the disruptive impact of war and crisis on the economy of Africa has been considerable. The political stalemate and periodic eruptions of violence have resulted in significant cumulative declines in Gross Domestic Product (GDP). This problem has been compounded by the frequent recurrence of drought in some sub-regions of Africa. Prospective investors in Africa have been turned away of fear of instability, low profit and loss of investment to looting and arson during wars. Hence, the persistent failure to raise investment rates have translated into low GDP growth rates .This has promoted poverty across Africa.

### **Solutions to the Challenges of Civil Conflict and War in Africa**

Western countries and the United Nations (UN) have been trying to find a way out of the predicament of wars and conflicts that have rocked Africa for a long time. However, there is always a problem of selectivity in intervention by the western governments. Western states and coalitions have shown a tendency to intervene when their interests are at stake and not always simply because of the security threat thousands of Africans face in times of conflict.

It is prudent for African Union and regional bodies within Africa to intervene in the conflicts within the continent. African leaders should solve their own conflicts and reduce the influence of external actors in continental affairs. African governments should be the ones to bear the primary responsibility for the resolution of these conflicts and, hence, should take the lead in responding to them. Africans have a compelling interest in local peace and stability, are more familiar with local conflict dynamics compared to external states and can build trust through frequent interaction.



African leaders should bail Africa out of recurrent conflicts and wars through advocating for a committed and sincere leadership and eradication of poverty.

African states need committed and sincere leaders that will lead by example and who act as good, responsible and responsive fathers to all the component sections and peoples in their countries so as to promote peace and harmony within the confines of their respective countries. This can be done in a number of ways:

African leaders must ensure an even distribution of resources among the various geo-political zones in their countries. Marginalization of one unit/group should not be allowed in order to win the support and cooperation of all and sundry and to avoid any feeling of alienation.

African leaders should also endeavour to promote the rule of law. This involves equal access to justice by all citizens irrespective of their status, respect for court decisions by the government and conduct of free and fair periodic elections among others. When and where leaders promote the rule of law as indicated above, there are a guarantee of peaceful co-existence among people and a peaceful transition of power from one government to the other. Succession dispute related conflicts that are very rampant in Africa may thus be easily eliminated.

African leaders should also promote, protect and guarantee the fundamental human rights of their citizens. In particular, the fundamental rights of freedom of speech, association and religion should be guaranteed. People should be free to assess and criticize the performance of government

without fear of persecution. Opposition must be tolerated while the fourth realm of government, the press, must not be censored.

## **Chapter Seven**

### **CHALLENGES OF EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN AFRICA**

In Africa, it is undeniable fact that the current educational institution performances are not tallying with reality on the ground and that they are not meant to tackle the problems Africa is facing. The problem which the Africa's education system faces is dictated by the political and economic institutions that do not shift toward progressive, destructive innovation and thus economic success. Africa's repressive political and economic institutions have contributed immensely to the eventual socio-economic decay and stagnation.

Educational institutions in Africa have a strategic role to play in Africa's development, given the dire need for skilled human resources and indigenous research capacity on the continent. Unfortunately, in many African countries, schools have deteriorated to the extent that they are at present without the requisite skills-base and facilities to support adequate standard of education and research because of the following:

The public education system in Africa lacks proper funding and planning. The African government built primary, secondary and tertiary institutions in their respective countries. However, with the ever rising population most of the children are not catered for despite free education implementation. In urban areas, the schools and tertiary institutions have less manpower in terms of lecturers and teachers, no recommended books for the learners, lack of learning equipment and are overcrowded. The situation is worse in rural areas; teachers shun rural schools leading to fewer teachers, no books and teaching aids and in some cases no proper school infrastructure. In

addition, the schools in rural areas are few and sparsely located. This means that the learners especially in rural areas have to move long distance in order to have access to the education system. This has led to low quality teaching and learning as well as inequality and exclusion at all levels.

However, in trying to solve these problems, African governments have resorted to public –private partnership in education provision. This has helped to increase the number of education institutions, learners and graduates but most of the private institutions especially higher learning institutions are not effective because they are producing graduates who are not fully fledged. These institutions run as businesses and their main concerns are profit maximisation. They over enrol, have unqualified lecturers and learning materials and they enrol even people who have not passed the necessary secondary school subjects required for specific programmes.

Most of the universities in Africa have been teaching the students the philosophies of countries that colonised them and barely teach on the African philosophy. For example, the law students in Africa are learning European law instead of African law and they are expected to apply it on African situations. Lack of African philosophy approach in Africa has rendered absence of consistencies and compatibilities for instruments such as treaties, agreements and protocols that has been adopted to promote African integration. This partly can point out the reasons as to why the regional and continental unity in Africa has not been able to go forward to expected miles.

Africa is failing to produce entrepreneurs, inventors, scientists yet in the diaspora there are people of African descent and Africans excelling in all the fields. The reality is that apart from medicine, African students are not

graduating from the educational institutions as experts. They get the knowledge from the universities but the knowledge lacks innovations. For example, we have African engineers but very few of them can think of owning and operating large scale industries or inventing new ideas of doing something or producing qualitable goods. They are just good in working in MNCs where they work under supervision of their white, Indian or Chinese counterparts. In all the programmes be it engineering, politics, business, economics, development, medicine and other fields, students from local African universities, colleges and schools are not coming out of school with answers to the challenges faced in their communities or countries. They are not exposed to certain conditions and environments which will help them to explore their talents. The majority of Africans come out of the tertiary education without an African dream but they dream of going abroad to make money through working so that they can come back to Africa as big boys. The main reason for this is because of the wrong and foreign educational philosophy.

The African education system has also been much concentrating on producing intellectuals from universities and colleges at the expense of craft or practical skills education. Our tertiary institutions produce much of white collar graduates who compete for less supervisory or management jobs available. This has led to the development of entrepreneurial mindsets to be low. Most of the tertiary institutions do not have the capacity to train students in life skills because of its expensive nature.

In addition, formal education in Africa starts at a late stage and pupils from nursery and primary schools are not exposed to real life situations. The pupils are not probed further to think widely about the given scenarios. For example, a teacher in early primary will tell the pupils, Jelita and Mulenga

are walking. Then the teacher asks the students what Jelita and Mulenga are doing? The pupils say 'They are walking'. The teacher say 'Very good' without probing further where they are going to. In addition pupils at nursery and early primary are not taught to be analytical in mathematical calculations of big numbers using their minds only and also basic science experiments. The pupils are not taught to use their brains to think outside the box.

The problem of less analytical teaching spread even to secondary schools. This brings about the challenge of integration of secondary and post-secondary education system. Secondary school graduates churned out yearly are ill-prepared to face the rigors of university education .The secondary school graduates are not fully prepared in academic knowledge, job skills and civic-mindedness. Lack of proper attention in preparing high school graduates for university education seems to pose serious problems for the development of creative, innovative, and productive citizens.

### **Solutions to the Challenges of Education Systems in Africa**

As long as these underlying institutional problems are not resolved, all the rhetoric will not fix the education system. Every African member country should be thinking of bettering the education system. The education system should address the needs of the economy and put Africa on the map of the most economically successful continents. Africa lack talent and skills and African leaders have a responsibility to open a space for young Africans to be innovative at all times. This should done from universal literacy and schooling to vocational training and higher education. This will help the continent to modernise, raise incomes and encourage people to remain in their places of origin by increasing their wealth.

For the continent to experience the required economic development, there is need to match the educational system with Africa's demand of improving human capacity. Africans are able to invent, design and manufacture anything if they are given the right education. However, many Africans from local schools are not able to excel in many fields because the education system in Africa has failed them and continue to fail them. The African governments should put in place systems which will be allowing the scholars to think and explore in an environment which stimulates and demands action.

In Africa, all educational institutions should have courses or subjects teaching on African philosophy, indigenous governance and indigenous development practice. Africa needs to produce its own intellectuals, who will develop African philosophy. Our esteemed African intellectuals must wake up to identify an indigenous model that can coach our future generations to offer the leadership and economic management the continent needs for prosperity. Africa must set institutions where African people apply their minds to the problems of Africa. All these require intellectuals that are educated in the African sense.

All across Africa from an early age, the school curriculum should be designed to suit our individual countries as well as teaching them external environments affecting the countries and the continent as a whole. Pupils should be helped to identify their strengths by exploring their talents when they are very young and based on that growing their skills instead of letting them to follow the same routine type of education which leaves them unemployed after graduation. From primary to secondary, in addition to the general subjects, pupils should be taught on practical craft subjects like mining and processing of minerals, technology, farm management,

technology among others. These courses should not only be offered in tertiary institutions but should be introduced at an early age so that they grow up with the skills and have hands on experience on processes of handling and controlling the African resources. So when they graduate, they become experts who own and manage their own companies utilising the local natural resources.

Higher education and research is key in solving problems caused by developmental challenges in Africa. Africa should build and expand world class tertiary education facilities and equip them with modern computers together with higher band width and low cost internet so that intellectual leadership can grow and the academicians and students can share information on the economy and keep up to date on new advanced knowledge. Their vital role in training, research, knowledge production, information transfer, and technology development will need to be strengthened if Africa is to rebuild these important institutions that are sources of regenerative capacity. A rehabilitation process is therefore necessary and this must begin with extensive reforms to improve planning, vision and leadership.

In addition, the students in tertiary education should be taught activity and action oriented and also situational practices so that they gain hands on experience. This will lead to the scholars to use their skills to find solutions of problems they face in any situation based on their fields of study. Universities should create School of Innovation and Entrepreneurship and these schools should collaborate with interdisciplinary courses from other schools like Engineering, Business and others through experimental learning projects. School of innovation should not have entry points based on standardised examination but should be based on real life experience of



student and using the experience as a starting point for a project. It should also have emphasis on finding solutions to the various societal problems by the students. Universities should initiate efforts to cultivate connections between universities and industry. The partnerships should be undertaken to facilitate innovation moving from basic research to commercial application. The ministries in charge of education should support policies to support innovation and entrepreneurship including a year off to pursue entrepreneurship venture.

African countries should concentrate much on building technical and vocational colleges as a first priority than increasing the number of universities offering higher qualifications. Africa needs skilled human resource in different expertise than managers and the skills labour can be increased by increasing the number of trade schools. These trade schools will provide labour with solutions for real life solutions by concentrating on science and technology training as a vehicle for the creation of entrepreneurship.

To transform the education system, the governments' policies must shift toward promoting favourable institutions, creativity, and progressive innovation. And the teachers and administrators in the education sector should be motivated to acquire the knowledge and skills needed to introduce practical education that works. There is need for capacity building in order to assist educational institutions through a special program to conduct strategic planning and management, improve the contents and relevance of curricula, upgrade instructional and training facilities, and address issues of incentives and opportunities for professional advancement as well as the long term financial sustainability of tertiary education.

## **Chapter Eight**

### **CHALLENGES OF HEALTH SYSTEMS IN AFRICA**

Many countries are striving to keep pace with healthcare delivery system because the sustainability and viability of any country's economic and social growth depends on the healthcare sector. This is because a nation of sick people would certainly not live up to its basic responsibilities.

In Africa today, the occurrences of disease pandemics is the greatest threat to sustained growth and development. For some time now, Africa has been affected with infectious diseases and some of the diseases are imported from other continents. Some of the non- communicable diseases include hypertension, diabetes, Malaria, Pneumonia and cancer while the communicable diseases include HIV/AIDS, Ebola, Polio, Monkey Pox, Tuberculosis, Measles, Diarrhoea and Covid 19. The communicable disease pandemics have been killing millions of people in the continent. The impacts of these diseases have been more severe in Africa as compared to other continents because of the already fragile health systems. African governments are forced to divert resources meant for developmental projects to curb these epidemics and in most circumstances the government do not have the money or capacity to eradicate the diseases. Given the scale of the epidemics, it is no longer simply a public health problem but a developmental crisis for Africa.

Africa's health care system does not appear to meet the prospect in containing the diseases local people suffer from. This is because the local people do not have access to the health institutions. There are few health institutions in African countries and these are sparsely located. This means that the local people have to travel long distances in order to access the health centres. There are many communities without basic health care

facilities as a result the people do not have access to primary health care services. Consequently, thousands of Africans die every year from preventable diseases such as, maternal child birth issues, and malnutrition. The other reason why these health centres are not accessible is because of economic status of the local people. Most of the African population is affected by low income levels due to high rate of unemployment and poverty. Most of them cannot afford to pay service charges at the health institutions.

Africa faces a severe shortage of medical commodities and equipment due to constrained domestic capacity and supply. The continent is highly dependent on global manufacturing and supply chains, and many African countries found themselves unable to procure Personal Protective Equipments (PPEs) and other essential medical commodities. The few available health centres in Africa are poorly equipped with medical equipment. Most of these institutions have obsolete medical equipment and are unable to replace them due to high cost of importing them from developed countries. Patients are usually referred to private hospitals for body scans and X-rays where they are expected to pay a lot of money. In worst cases, those who cannot to access the body scans from private hospitals, doctors just prescribe medication for the diseases they suspect on the patient. This leads to cases of misdiagnosis and avoidable deaths because these diseases can be treated with timely and right diagnosis and prescription.

In addition to the obsolete medical equipment, these health centres are affected by lack of medicines. This forces the patients to buy medications from retail pharmacists. It has become fashionable for hospitals in Africa to apply one medicine to treat all diseases because of lack of drugs. Mostly patients are given pain killers like Panadol regardless of the diseases they

have because it is the only drug available .African countries are unable to produce medicines and vaccines and about ninety-eight percent (98%) of medicines used in Africa are produced outside the continent. This means that Africa only produces few types of medicines in small amounts leading to many hospitals not have access to locally produced drugs. This forces the governments to import the drugs and use middle men .The middle men usually corruptly connive with government tender officials and procurement officers where they inflate the prices of the medicines which make the patients not afford to buy the imported medicines. In some instances, these parties deliver fake or expired medicines and supporting supplies to the hospitals.

The other challenge facing African countries is that skilled health workers are few in health centres. African countries have been losing medical professionals through brain drain. Medical doctors and other medical personnel have been leaving the continent in search of the proverbial greener pasture abroad. Two reasons accounts for this exodus; one is lack of tools used by the doctors to work and second, we cannot match the mouth watering offers being made to them in developed countries. Since there is no job satisfaction in Africa, many of the consultants in the health sector are lost to the countries where their services were better appreciated. Additionally, African governments have no capacity to recruit the right numbers and specialisations of health officers because of lack of funds. Africa has a lot of graduate health practitioners who cannot be assimilated into the systems because of lack of funds. Previously, there was short supply of health professionals in Africa because only public institutions were training them but a lot of private universities and colleges have emerged and have contributed to the high number of health professionals graduating. In most cases these business styled institutions produce

graduates who are undereducated because of lack of trained lecturers, equipment and training materials and profit maximisation notion by the owners of the institutions. This has contributed to a rising number of the health care workers who are unreliable, unskilled, and not kind-hearted care providers.

Saying that the African health system is in shambles is tantamount to saying the sky is up above. This is the unadulterated truth, fact, reality, right in our face and we have to contend with as Africans. The lack of development of the public healthcare system has eroded the little confidence the general population have in the African healthcare system. Even the presidents who are supposed to lead by example are most guilty of this lack of faith in the African healthcare system. From available statistics, many of our Presidents, Ministers and senior public officials have no confidence in their health facilities and would fly themselves to other continents with developed health care systems even with small sickness to seek medical attention leaving local hospitals. This is a very disappointing culture practiced by African government leaders. The governments sponsor senior public officials abroad for treatment instead of making provision for adequate health care in their countries.

### **Solutions to the Challenges of Health Systems in Africa**

The impact of good governance on health suggests that democratic principles are crucial for dealing effectively with health crises. Health is an important platform through which to create an orientation toward consensus, respect for the rule of law, equity and collaboration, both within the health sector itself and beyond. This is evidenced in a number of experiences dealing with childhood nutrition and health, which show that addressing these problems in the context of creating food security, developing sustainable livelihoods and community partnerships with

extension workers, universities and private sector companies. Such arrangements should provide a solid foundation to address the key health challenges in Africa, which are linked to lack of human and financial resources, mismanagement of resources and lack of management capacity. Greater accountability, rooted in mass participation, should help to strengthen the continent's health systems.

Local budgets for health to be increased and the money should be put towards the building of health centres, procuring of drugs recruitment of health professionals and capacity building.

The African governments should consider building more hospitals and clinics especially in rural areas so that there is easy access to these health facilities by the locals. There is also need to upgrade the old health facilities with the state-of-the-art facilities.

It lies within African leaders' powers to make the health sector environment attractive. This is far better than merely lamenting the situation. The governments in partnership with the citizenry must rise up to the current challenges facing the health sector. Failure to do so is an easy access to a disastrous consequence in the future.

There is need for African countries to spearhead local production of medicines and medical equipment. Increased local drug production is feasible in most of the African countries. Establishing pharmaceutical manufacturing companies as one of the priority sectors is critical for improving the health sector. It aims to substitute imported essential medicines with locally produced ones as well as producing for export markets. Partnerships at the local and regional level will be crucial in the effort to advance manufacturing. Governments could seek to leverage regional partners to build up the capabilities of local manufacturers of

medicines and engage private sector partnerships to boost technical capabilities and innovation and improve quality standards.

## **Chapter Nine**

### **THE CHALLENGE OF BRAIN DRAIN IN AFRICA**

Brain drain from Africa is one of the continent's major development constraints. Brain drain is the result of growing competition for talent and is found in African countries where there are weak incentives for highly skilled workers and students to remain. The professionals in whom a nation has invested a considerable amount of educational resources leave their native land and seek employment opportunities elsewhere. Scientist, engineers, academics and physicians who have been trained with scarcely available resources at social cost in their homes African countries for the benefits and growth of their nations tend to leave for better opportunities. However, this has simply left helplessness to the concerned institutions and African countries that have been losing thousands of their highly educated workers for the benefit of the rich countries and individuals.

The loss of trained and highly skilled Africans to the industrialized countries has intensified the capacity constraints facing the public and the private sectors and thus the deficit of skilled manpower, which African countries so badly need for poverty reduction and sustainable development. African authorities have to cope directly with the socio-economic effects caused by this phenomenon.

#### **Causes of Brain Drain**

The major causes of brain drain in Africa are many and these are:

Education in African countries has not been commensurate with national needs. This is in terms of weaknesses of the school system in training people for science and mathematics based occupations. This has led to most



African students to be trained in developed countries through the local government or foreign sponsorship. After graduation, these students are expected to go back to their respective African countries of their origin and provide manpower in such areas as medicine, education, engineering and military. Most of them do not return home but are left behind. Those who sought to remain behind site prestige of degrees obtained abroad, the good academic facilities and excellent job opportunities as reasons for staying behind.

There is also lack of non recognition of talents and abilities to perform. In Africa most people are educated but are unable to find employment as jobs in government departments are very limited while the private sector is small to assimilate them. These people usually survive based on family income than on professional ability.

In cases where they are employed these employees are usually paid slave wages and have poor working conditions. Many Africans are suffering from foreign companies' exploitation despite being unionised. Salaries and wages are poor whilst the union leaders and government ministry officials in charge of labour and social security are silenced by handouts from the company owners. This trend is most common in Chinese and Indian managed firms.

The political instability in most African countries has force the educated and skilled people to lose confidence with their governments and future prospects for a better life. These are individuals who have difficulties because of their ethnic, cultural, and religious belonging or being a member of opposition grouping in their home countries. In addition, some educated and talented Africans are part of the masses who are displaced due to wars and political and social turmoil.

The Africans compare the adverse conditions they face in Africa to conditions of developed countries as they plan to migrate. This is undoubtedly one of the main constraints of underdevelopment in the continent.

### **Effects of Brain Drain on Africa**

Brain drain affects the African countries and Africa as a whole negatively. Brain drain is more than a financial concern because the involved professionals are the elite without which a national development will suffer. The number of skilled workers leaving the continent is too large as compared to their replacements.

The loss of highly skilled people by African countries through brain drain brings about short run adjustment cost. This is because efficiency requires an optimal mix of human capital with physical capital and unskilled labour. When a specialised medical doctor leaves a hospital, in the extreme case, the patients have to wait for a replacement. This temporal loss can be eliminated if the departure of the medical doctor is known in advance and a replacement has been trained. The replacement of skilled person requires time consuming education.

The African countries lose a lot of money to sponsor their citizens both locally and abroad. The large proportion comes from taxes collected from the citizens and this collective investment in education is made in expectations that the graduates contribute to the economies and the society at large.

African governments depend on competitive selection of most gifted and dynamic young people as sources of leadership. Therefore, their migration abroad represents serious loss of leadership because the investment is lost

and involves a great inequality. The African countries have lost a lot of senior professionals in industries such as medicine, technology and computing, agriculture among others which leaves important projects for the provision of social services and contribution of economic growth to be abandoned. For example, the current mass exodus of nurses and doctors from African countries to United States of America (USA), France, Germany, Belgium and Britain which has left the continent in problems because most of them are trained within the African countries.

### **Solutions to Challenges of Brain Drain in Africa**

In order to curb brain drain for the African countries a number of proposals need to be implemented.

Firstly, the African government needs to raise the salaries and improve the working conditions in their countries. The governments should offer higher wages for insiders according to their qualifications instead of estimating and hiring expatriates, which is more costly. The government should guarantee jobs for those who might return and recruiting abroad for important public service positions for example the African governments can entice their citizens in the diaspora in the science related fields with good perks.

There is a large and growing pool of African scientists living and working in the industrialized world. African countries should develop and adopt strategies to mobilize and utilize their Diaspora. The region can no longer afford to ignore this capital. Indeed it should tap the enormous scientific and technological talents of African abroad and use them for its own scientific and technological development. This can be done by the governments offering them economic incentives for those who want to come back to work or invest in their home countries. The incentives can include tax free for their capital goods when they are coming back.

Good governance at the national and continental level is very important in reducing brain drain. Transparency in leadership is essential and should be maintained. This leads to confidence by technocrats on their political leaders hence hope for the better future. For the politically distressed or war torn countries the professionals may be relocated to places where they can be productive rather than confining them in refugee camps and then return home once the situation in their countries normalizes.

There is also need for the African governments to discourage experienced and educated professionals from leaving through imposing of high emigrating taxes and passport fees.

## **Chapter Ten**

### **CHALLENGE OF THE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL AND INNOVATION PROGRESS**

Revolutionary advances in technology are strongly reinforcing economic and social changes that are transforming business, society, welfare, and creating virtual communities. Today, trade, investment and information sharing are globalized, and institutions compete on the basis of knowledge and on the platform of electronic networks on a global basis. The revolution has also brought pressure to bear on countries for the emergence of more competitive, more democratic, less centralized, and more transparent and accountable systems and procedures in both public and corporate governance and administration.

The changes associated with the technology are inexorable. They however, require countries and regions to make the necessary adjustments in order to harness technology for economic and social development. These adjustments need new policies, regulatory and institutional reforms, and appreciable investments in technology. For effective participation in the technology revolution, countries and regions need macroeconomic balance, political stability, and growth which are vital for global information flows, competition, trade, capital flow and investment. Advanced countries are rapidly adjusting. But this is not the case for Africa. African countries have been unable to catch up with the developments in technology.

#### **Africa lagging in Technological Advancement**

The following are the reasons why Africa is lagging behind in the world of technology:

The first cause for lagging behind is lack of knowledge on technology. Many Africans tend to lack knowledge on how to interact and use most technological facilities. This has made it difficult for them to use modern technology gadgets.

Africans are lagging behind technologically from the rest of the world because of education gap and illiteracy. Education is the most powerful instruments that can be used for reducing any sort of inequality, reducing poverty, and laying a foundation for a sustained economy. Inequality in Africa has always been there and currently, it is on the rise, especially in rural areas. A large percentage of children in Africa do not have access to education which has led to the levels of illiteracy to still be high despite different policy measures to improve literacy levels. In addition, the education gap is further hampered by the prevailing unhealthy macroeconomic environment created which has had a huge impact on the education and expertise level in the continent.

Outdated government policies are another leading reason why Africa is still lagging behind the rest of the world. Government policies are hampering investments in many parts of Africa. Technological innovation, industrial growth, and improved living standards, all are fuelled by the governments but sadly in Africa, the governments are not paying much heed to all of this. The governments have implemented such policies that are not helpful at all for development. In addition, fiscal policies have led to African governments to repeatedly be in friction with technological companies operating in their countries. African governments have a tendency of imposing exorbitant fines on foreign telecommunication companies which has made some companies to withdraw their investment.

Financing is a big issue for large information and technology infrastructural projects in Africa. In the investment sector, African governments have invested way less than the whole world. Where the whole world spends fortunes of their GDP on Science and Technological research and innovation, the African governments have been investing very little from their GDPs which have resulted in the African nations lagging behind the rest of the world.

Another contributing factor to why African nations are lagging behind is poor infrastructure. In Africa, the connectivity is very less as compared to the rest of the world but rural areas are less connected and more information poor than urban areas. The demand for information in rural areas is high because of the costs and expenses involved in all of this, this has not been yet achieved.

Another dividing factor in African countries is accessibility to electricity in the first instance. Some people have access to electricity while others do not and this creates a division between the people. This all creates a huge difference and because of the unavailability of electricity, the African people are not able to enjoy the latest technology as the rest of the world.

Corruption is another leading factor to why Africa is lagging behind the rest of the world in innovating technology. African corrupt governments hamper the growth and development of the respective nations. The corrupt governments lead to poor education, a poor healthcare system, poverty, the economic gap between classes of people, economic instability, malnutrition, non-existent security among others, and all of this leads to nothing but deterioration of a nation. Individuals who are born in such societies or nations do not get to go to school since they are forced to learn a technical skill or forced to work in labour because of extreme poverty and some even

die before reaching adulthood because of malnutrition, suffering from diseases and others going through violence.

And for those who happen to escape from all of this unscratched, happen to find out about the bureaucracy that is in the hands of fat, corrupt industry players who are trying their best to prevent any bright, young mind from rising up and challenging them. They prevent any competition and block out bright young minds that would have otherwise done much more for the development of the nation and its economy.

### **Effects of Lack of Advancement in Technology**

Weak absorption capacity and lack of innovative capacity have negatively affected the growth performance of African countries. The following are the effects of lack of advanced technologies:

Africa is missing out on growth-inducing foreign investment. Foreign investors prefer to locate in economies with an abundant supply of scientists, engineers, and highly skilled workforce. In other words, they prefer economies that are capable of absorbing and assimilating complex technologies. Since foreign investment is strongly correlated with growth, it therefore implies that the excess supply of scientists and engineers in a country would spur growth through the attraction of larger flows of foreign investment. Because of their lack of technological capability, African countries attract foreign investment in low-end activities that do not generate substantial value added. Foreign investment flows to Africa go mainly into low-end sectors such as tourism, agriculture, assembly-type manufacturing, mineral extraction, retail trade, and banking.



Lack of technological capability weakens Africa's export performance. Economic growth in Africa has been constrained by weak export performance. Export performance, in turn, depends on technological capability and absorption capacity. The continent is unable to produce high-tech or innovative products that can compete effectively on international markets because of weak innovation capacity. In addition, the total-factor productivity is low because of lack of technological capability, which subsequently enables a continent to become less cost-competitive with other continents.

Low absorptive capacity inhibits the growth of manufacturing value added. This is also the result of lack of advanced technology. The lack of technological capability and absorption capacity by African firms prevents them from generating significant levels of manufacturing value added, which has the effect of slowing down the economic growth of African countries. The failure of African firms to develop skills, capabilities, and technical support has in most cases led to significant and costly deindustrialisation in the continent. In addition, the failure of the manufacturing companies in Africa to enhance their efficiency and productivity leads to their weak technological capability.

### **Solutions to the Challenges of the lack of Scientific and Technological Progress in Africa**

Technological development is the engine that drives economic development as it engenders creativity and innovation, and thus economic growth and development. Africa cannot develop without advanced technological capability to spur innovation and increase individual and national productivity.

The African leaders should take up policies that encourage inclusive institutions so that they create the emergence of new indigenous technologies. Explorations of science, technology and innovation in Africa should be done not as the product of technology transfer from elsewhere but as the working of African knowledge. Africa should be considered as a maker of science, technology and innovation and not as a recipient of it. The African leaders should focus on African ways of looking, meaning-making and creating. Africans should be seen as intellectual agents whose perspectives constitute authoritative knowledge and whose strategic deployment of both endogenous and inbound things representing an African-centred notion of science, technology and innovation. African countries must work energetically to change the rules and regulations, which limit their access to advanced technology, at a reasonable price, while frustrating their efforts at developing indigenous technologies.

The African leaders should have political will and commitments to lead the science, technology and innovation process in Africa. The capacity to reform the economic, social and political governance is a prerequisite for ensuring that science, technology and innovation is integrated into Africa's development. For this to be successful, the governments should collaborate with the private sector, civil society and the academia and build trust and accountability and effective coordination.

African governments should step up their efforts to develop academic and scientific mobility programs across Africa. Scientific co-operation programs within Africa will enable the countries to share scientific and technological successes among each other.

The governments should increase investments in science based education. They should create incentives that shift student preference from social sciences and business programmes towards natural sciences programmes. They should also invest heavily on the state of the art universities with high quality laboratories, information and technology infrastructure.

African governments should curtail the brain drain by developing strategies for retaining, harmonising and using its science, technology and innovation capacity through providing incentives in either monetary or non-monetary to Africans with critical technical skills in science, technology, engineering and mathematics.

In addition, the African governments should promote the building of infrastructure that supports the development of science, technology and innovations. The appropriate infrastructure can be determined through research and development.

## **Chapter Eleven**

### **CHALLENGES OF POOR INFRASTRUCTURE IN AFRICA**

Infrastructure is the basic equipment and structures such as roads and bridges that are needed for a country, region, or organization to function properly. Infrastructure contributes to economic development by increasing productivity and providing services, which enhance the quality of life. The services generated as a result of an adequate infrastructure base will translate to an increase in aggregate output such as increased agriculture output of farmers through improved roads, creation of a sea ports, railway lines., electrical generation, transmission and distribution, Water and irrigation projects, - Increase quality of life and Urbanization of different areas.

### **Importance of Infrastructural Development**

Infrastructure is a key element of poverty alleviation. It often acts as a catalyst to development and enhances the impact of interventions to improve the poor's access to other assets, e.g., human, social, financial, and natural assets. Its impact is felt both on the economic and social sectors. Without roads, the poor are not able to sell their output on the market. In India, it has been shown that roads alone account for seven percent (7%) of the growth in aggregate output of the rural areas. Without electricity, the industrialization process, which provides the poor an important source of employment, is unlikely to take off.

Infrastructure investment has the effects of contributing to increase the productivity and it is expected to contribute to future economic growth in developing countries where infrastructure is still insufficient. Therefore, infrastructure development is one of the most integral parts of the public

policies in developing countries. Good infrastructure helps to raise productivity and lower costs in the directly productive activities of the economy, but it has to be expanded fast enough to meet the demand for infrastructure in the early stage of development.

The adequate supply of infrastructure services has long been viewed as essential for economic development and poverty reduction. One of Africa's top developmental challenges continues to be the shortage of physical infrastructure. Greater economic activity, enhanced efficiency and increased competitiveness are hampered by inadequate transport, communication, water and power infrastructure. Only a few areas with better facilities such as urban areas have developed over the rural areas, which are occupied by the largest percentage of the population. Physical infrastructure covering transportation, power and communication through its backward and forward linkages facilitates growth; while social infrastructure including water supply, sanitation, sewage disposal, education and health, which are in the nature of primary services, has a direct impact on the quality of life.

Without this infrastructure, Africa will not achieve the growth levels expected or required. Infrastructure planning and investment are therefore critical if Africa's huge economic and developmental potential are to be realised. Key in helping the continent realise its economic potential, is the careful construction of a sustainable infrastructure that can assist to turn the situation around.

Indeed, one of the main concerns about infrastructure development in Africa is the slow pace of progress.

## **Effects of Lack of Infrastructure**

The poor infrastructure in Africa is also a contributing factor to why African nations are lagging behind. The lack of infrastructure is a serious obstacle to growth and development, and results in a low level of intra-African trade and trade with other regions. The continent accounts for twelve percent (12%) of the world population but generates a mere one percent (1%) of global GDP and only two percent (2%) of world trade. Lack of social infrastructure promotes, poor standard living, economic deficit, productivity decline, and free trade barriers that have negative impact on economic development.

The majority of the Africa's poor people live are isolated by distance, terrain and poverty from employment and economic opportunities, markets, healthcare and education. Lack of basic infrastructure such paths, trails, bridges and roads and access to transport services makes it difficult for poor people to access markets and services. There is clear evidence that lack of infrastructure is associated with low agricultural productivity linked to poor market access and low use of fertilizers and modern agricultural technologies. Poor road access has put nevertheless constraints for rural poor people in terms of access to other social infrastructure such as education and health facilities.

## **Solutions to the Challenges of Poor Infrastructure in Africa**

Every productive economy has strong infrastructure networks. Infrastructure connects cities and countries together, is the backbone of transport systems, healthcare systems, technology and schools. In Africa, poor infrastructure reduces the economic growth rate and also reduces productivity. The continent has made strides, but there are always new opportunities for seizing when it

comes to developing infrastructure to set the stage for economic expansion of Africa's countries.

Regional approaches to infrastructure development are probably more important and hold the key to reducing infrastructure costs. Africa is highly fragmented with a large number of small economies, many of which are landlocked. Regional infrastructure offers the opportunity for cost reductions through economies of scale, making infrastructure more affordable. However, it must be stressed that there is no "one size fits all" solution and that responses may vary from country to country. For regional infrastructure development to be fruitful there is need for careful co-ordination with regional and continental authorities rationalises state action on cross border projects, while offering the country benefits from larger markets. This should be attached to strong commitment from African countries to tackle the infrastructure challenges facing the continent.

African governments should be at the heart of infrastructure service delivery. African governments should be involved in the construction and maintenance of infrastructure systems. This involvement should lead the governments to take on a large number of roles in the infrastructure sector such as; regulator, financier, owner with responsibility for construction and maintenance.

With or without private participation, governments be responsible for infrastructure reform, for setting and enforcing the basic rules of the game, and for regulation. The governments must be prominent financiers of infrastructure investment in Africa. They must continue to mobilise additional domestic resources - it both promotes growth and helps to attract further private investment. Governments must also be responsible for

accountable expenditure allocation enough money is spent on construction and regular maintenance. It is very important that private capital be tapped in addition to the funds for infrastructural development.

The role of the private sector nevertheless, private investment is likely to remain an important component of infrastructure development in the years ahead, particularly as the available fiscal space in many countries remains limited. The important thing will be to channel private initiative where it has the greatest likelihood of being successful and to have realistic expectations as to what it can achieve.

There is also need for local alternative sources of finance. Improving the capacity of the local financial markets to mobilise resources would be an important part of a sustainable financing strategy. African governments should seek to increase local financial markets' contributions to the debt funding of infrastructure projects that generate mostly local currency revenues like local currency loans and bonds. Progress in financial sector reform can make this feasible, as local banks build capacity for project finance and capital markets become more liquid.

The African governments needs to strengthen construction regulatory authorities so that all the construction projects are done to standard and sustainable.



## **Chapter Twelve**

### **THE CHALLENGE OF INDUSTRIAL SECTOR DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA**

The process of industrialisation in Africa happened in phases with the first phase during the colonial regimes between 1920 and 1940. European capitalist powers colonized pre-capitalist regions and established a monopoly over land, mines, and labour. Surplus wealth was extracted from these regions by means of European control over trade relations. The industrialisation involved heavy investment of big capitalists in African countries mainly for the purpose of producing raw materials to be exported to the home countries of these capitalists.

The second phase after independence from 1950s to late 1980s which involved strategy of import substitution spearheaded by individual governments through nationalisation of all private industries. The industries were nationalised because the states were not satisfied with foreign businesses that externalised the profits to their countries of origin instead of reinvesting the money within productively and also small number of recruitment of locals. There was also an ideological change from capitalism which supports communal ownership of the means of production. The strategy of import substitution industrialisation increased production but started sloping from 1973 due to balance of payment as a result of oil shocks and eventually failed in the 1980s because of poor business management, lack of human capital and little knowledge of technology and the fact that the industry focused more on employment than on business and low productivity among others. The Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) disapproved the industrialisation system in Africa because it led to

high impacts on the respective economies. The SAPs recommended macroeconomic stabilisation, trade liberalisation and privatisation.

The third phase was as result of SAPs recommendations for all nationalised industries to be privatised due to poor management and lack of productivity. The African governments privatised viable industries while the industries with high liabilities were liquidated. MNCs and local investors were able to buy of the industries which operated effectively between late 1980s towards 2000; the rate of investment inflow slumped in addition to some existing ones closing operations due to increased trade openness. Most of the industrial sites were turned to trading and warehousing sites instead of production.

The fourth phase of industrialisation is after 2000. There was a shift in policy by the World Bank and its partners to investment climate policy where individual countries had to improve their country conditions in order to attract investments. The investment climate included macroeconomic management, infrastructure, skills and institutional policies. The African governments opened investment marketing institutions to attract both local investors and MNCs and they were mandated to offer incentives such as waivers on customs duty on imported equipment, excise duty and Value Added Tax (VAT), among other concessions to investors who are willing to invest in the respective African countries.

Despite the efforts to attract Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) by the respective governments, Africa still has low levels of meaningful FDI inflow which leads to lack of industrial development. Most of the FDI inflow attracted comes with little investment with expectation of reaping from the existing plants.

The continued low rate of industrialisation in Africa has led to the continent to continue relying heavily on producing and exporting a single commodity, raw materials for export to the developed countries for foreign exchange earnings, and the importation of variety of goods from the western developed dominant states.

### **Solutions to Challenges of Lack of Industrial Sector Development**

For sustained economic growth and development in Africa, the efficiency, dynamism and size of the continent's industrial sector is of vital importance. For the sector to play its role as an engine of growth, it needs to be encouraged by a conducive policy environment, the availability of functional and efficient infrastructure, effective public sector institutions, and security of investment.

African governments should create a powerful entrepreneurial climate in their countries through innovation support. These ventures should cut across the fintech, mining, agriculture, pharmaceutical, manufacturing, and tourism. Africa should concentrate much on startup investments.

Most importantly, there is need for reviewing the activities of MNCs by their home countries so as to ascertain their capability of physically investing industrial plants in the host countries and also to ensure that they do not indulge in any illicit venture other than their primary purpose in the host country. We need investors who will create manufacturing companies which will generate resources and create employment.

African countries need an enabling environment for both domestic and foreign private investment to flourish. Supportive public policies and the

efficient supply of infrastructure and services, as well as specific interventions to enhance attraction of meaningful foreign investors. Strategic interventions aimed at strengthening chambers of commerce and industries, trade associations, chambers of agriculture as well as providing market and investment information will play a significant role in strengthening the sector. Potential areas of support for the industrial sector should include developing and strengthening business and trade associations, strengthening of management development and training institutions. This should cater for the needs of the private sector especially in the support for information sharing networks and management information through seminars, conferences, workshops, study tours, enhancing investment and market information through support for national statistics offices, investment and export promotion agencies, and promoting more innovative uses of information technology to support investment promotion.

It is equally important that, through the representatives and professional organizations, both the government and industrial sector should be equipped to undertake independent, professional research and analysis on macroeconomic and sectoral issues with a direct bearing on the business environment.

## **Chapter Thirteen**

### **THE CHALLENGES OF CLIMATE CHANGE**

Climate change is having a growing impact on the African continent, hitting the most vulnerable hardest, and contributing to food insecurity, population displacement and stress on water resources. In recent years we have seen devastating floods and drought. There are a number of issues to consider when describing the range of impacts of and the underlying vulnerability to climate change in Africa. The continent is expected to have extreme weather events such as floods, high temperatures and droughts.

#### **Causes of Climate Change**

Burning fossil fuels, cutting down forests and farming livestock are increasingly influencing the climate and the earth's temperature. This adds enormous amounts of greenhouse gases to those naturally occurring in the atmosphere, increasing the greenhouse effect and global warming. Burning coal, oil and gas produces carbon dioxide and nitrous oxide. Cutting down forests and other deforestation activities. Trees help to regulate the climate by absorbing carbon dioxide from the atmosphere. When they are cut down, that beneficial effect is lost and the carbon stored in the trees is released into the atmosphere, adding to the greenhouse effect. Increasing livestock farming. Cows and sheep produce large amounts of methane when they digest their food. Fertilisers containing nitrogen produce nitrous oxide emissions. Fluorinated gases are emitted from equipment and products that use these gases. Such emissions have a very strong warming effect, up to twenty-three thousand (23 000) times greater than carbon dioxide.

Human-induced global warming is presently increasing at a rate of zero point two degrees Celsius (0.2°C) per decade. An increase of two degrees

Celsius (2°C) compared to the temperature in pre-industrial times is associated with serious negative impacts on the natural environment and human health and wellbeing, including a much higher risk that dangerous and possibly catastrophic changes in the global environment will occur. For this reason, the international community has recognised the need to keep warming well below two degrees Celsius (2°C) and pursue efforts to limit it to one point five degrees Celsius (1.5°C).

The main driver of climate change is the greenhouse effect. Some gases in the Earth's atmosphere act a bit like the glass in a greenhouse, trapping the sun's heat and stopping it from leaking back into space and causing global warming. Many of these greenhouse gases occur naturally, but human activities are increasing the concentrations of some of them in the atmosphere, in particular: carbon dioxide, methane, nitrous oxide and fluorinated gases. Carbon dioxide produced by human activities is the largest contributor to global warming.

Other greenhouse gases are emitted by human activities in smaller quantities. Methane is a more powerful greenhouse gas than carbon dioxide, but has a shorter atmospheric lifetime. Nitrous oxide, like carbon dioxide, is a long-lived greenhouse gas that accumulates in the atmosphere over decades to centuries. Non-greenhouse gas pollutants, including aerosols like soot, have different warming and cooling effects and are also associated with other issues such as poor air quality. Natural causes, such as changes in solar radiation or volcanic activity are estimated to have contributed less than plus or minus zero point one degrees Celsius (0.1°C) to total warming between 1890 and 2010.

Africa has the least contribution to global warming as compared to other continents but it is the most affected. Individual countries like United States

generates five point seven billion (5,700,000, metric tons of carbon dioxide per year, while Africa as a whole contributes only nine hundred and eighteen point four nine (918.49) million metric tonnes. It is a cruel irony that the people living on the continent that has contributed the least to global warming are in line to be the hardest hit by the resulting climate changes.

### **Effects of Climate Change in Africa**

Temperatures in the recent decades in the continent has been warming up at a higher rate compared to other continents. This continued warming is leading to deadly heat waves in the continent and varying rainfall over some parts of the continent leading to drought or floods. African temperatures in recent decades have been warming at a rate comparable to that of most other continents, and thus somewhat faster than global mean surface temperature. The latest decadal predictions, covering the five-year period from 2020 to 2024, shows continued warming and decreasing rainfall especially over Northern and Southern Africa, and increased rainfall over the Sahel. Extensive areas of Africa will exceed two degrees Celsius (2 °C) of warming above pre-industrial levels by the last two decades of this century under medium scenarios. Much of Africa has already warmed by more than one degree Celsius (1 °C) since 1901, with an increase in heat waves and hot days. A reduction in precipitation is likely over Northern Africa and the south-western parts of Southern Africa.

There is significant regional variability in sea-level trends around Africa. Sea-level increase reached five millimetres (5 mm) per year in several oceanic areas surrounding the continent and exceeded 5 mm per year in the south-western Indian Ocean from Madagascar eastward towards and beyond Mauritius. This is more than the average global sea-level rise of three (3) to

four (4) millimetres per year. Coastal degradation and erosion is also a major challenge, especially in West Africa. About fifty-six percent (56%) of the coastlines in Benin, Côte d'Ivoire, Senegal and Togo are eroding and this is expected to worsen in the future. Sea level rise is currently not the dominant contributor but is expected to combine with other factors in future to exacerbate the negative consequences of environmental changes.

Climate change is also expected to increase the risk of flooding in Africa. The continent has experienced heavy rains and tropical cyclones causing displacement of people from their localities. The most affected is southern Africa which has already experienced Idai and Ana, the most destructive tropical cyclones ever recorded in the southern hemisphere, resulting in hundreds of casualties and hundreds of thousands of displaced. Southern Africa suffered extensive drought in 2019. In contrast, the Greater Horn of Africa shifted from very dry conditions in 2018 and most of 2019 to floods and landslides associated with heavy rainfall in late 2019. Flooding also affected northern Africa from May to October 2019.

The key impacts of climate change in Africa impacts of climate change in Africa is water scarcity and flooding, threats to food security and health.

Increased temperatures and a greater likelihood of extreme weather events resulting from climate change will no doubt increase the threat of drought and increased water scarcity in Africa. One of the indirect impacts of climate change associated with increased drought and water scarcity is the threat to agricultural production. Agriculture is the backbone of Africa's economy and account for the majority of the livelihood across Africa. Agriculture is critical to Africa's economic growth. Climate change could



destabilise local markets, increase food insecurity, limit economic growth, and increase risk for agricultural sector investors. African agriculture is particularly vulnerable to the impacts of climate change because it is heavily dependent on rainfall and climate change has seriously affected rainfall throughout the continent. With the temperatures expected to increase 1.5 mm higher than the rest of the world, African countries will see a shorter wet spell leading to droughts or heavier rains causing floods which leads to reduced food production because they lack infrastructure and support systems.

And due to climate variability and change, agriculture has been affected negatively. Africa has experienced reduced crop productivity which is associated with drought and heat stress, increased pest damage, disease damage and flood impact on the food system infrastructure resulting in adverse effects on food security and the livelihood at the continental, national and household levels. Varying rainfall leads to flash floods in some areas and drought in others, both of which reduce agricultural production, increase food insecurity and food prices and cause dislocation of poverty stricken rural population to already overcrowded urban areas that are ill equipped to accept them, or other nations.

The impacts of climate change throughout Africa have also affected the health system and have expanded the spread of infectious diseases to a vulnerable population. The indirect impacts of climate change on health are not the result of isolated extreme weather events, but of the gradual erosion of natural, economic and social systems that sustain health, and which are already under stress in much of the developing world. An increase in temperature and changes in rainfall patterns also significantly affect

population health across Africa. Warmer temperatures and higher rainfall increase the habitant suitability for dangerous insects which transmit vector-borne diseases such as malaria and yellow fever among others. Vector-borne diseases such as malaria, and infections associated with under nutrition are likely to spread with climate change affecting those who lack access to affordable food, clean water, and who are already suffering from medical conditions. The spread of the vector borne diseases is facilitated by changes in standard weather patterns that is brought on by climate change.

### **Solutions to the Challenges of Climate Change**

Climate change will continue to impact Africa due to many factors. These impacts are already been felt and will increase in magnitude if action is not taken hence there is need to mitigate climate change. African environmentalists have been expressing their concerns about the impact of the climate change and possible solutions of adaptation to climate change. Africa's top environmental and climate activists include William Harrington of Zambia, Hindou Oumarou Ibrahim of Chad, Nkosilathi Nyathi of Zimbabwe, Olumide Idowu of Nigeria, Elizabeth Wanjiru Wathuti of Kenya, Kiara Nirghin of South Africa, Vanessa Nakate of Uganda, Portia Adu-Mensah of Ghana among others.

The African governments should form a continental organisation that should be tasked to support climate resilient development solutions especially those that can accelerate Africa's economic transformation. The organisation should prioritise industries that support adaptation to improve resilience and deliver more and better jobs.

One of the solutions to mitigating climate change is creating infrastructure that do not support environmental degradation. Infrastructure is key to addressing climate change and its mitigation and adaptation effort. The

African governments should plan, design and manage infrastructure to support a low emission and a resilient future.

Another solution to the adapting of climate change is commercialisation of biotechnology. Biotechnology can help in producing seeds for crops that give higher yields in dry and barren land. There is need for African governments to create biotechnology industry and train more plant and seed genetics engineers who can carry out plant and seed research in crops such as maize, rice among others.

Carefully designed management systems are effective in responding to climate change impacts. A variety of different solutions will be required to address the variability of impacts in the different regions, particularly given the potential for the impacts of climate change to affect a number of different sectors. The methodology allows experts to evaluate the current state of the environment, the impact of solutions and to provide a monitoring strategy for these management policies.

Given the importance of agriculture to all countries and the need for water resources, climate change and water scarcity may lead to a greater stress on water resources, with increasing competition for water among parties in other sectors such as energy and tourism. This work underlines the importance of bridging the gap between existing understandings of business as usual water management practises, and the potential for adaptive measures to respond to the impacts of climate change. Reducing this knowledge gap will require the following actions: expanding the scope of stakeholder engagement; increasing levels of finance; undertaking the appropriate knowledge transfer between stakeholders; strengthening the knowledge base of decision makers; and improving water metering

techniques to monitor changes in water usage. In essence, it requires improving the level of adaptive capacity, promoting the “Adaptive Integrated Water Resources Management (AWM)” tool. Water scarcity and the implementation of adaptation measures should be reviewed in the context of river basin management and the applicable socio-economic considerations. There is need for integrated water management with shared river basins that cross national boundaries.

Addressing research and operational capacity in regional modelling of climate change, using decadal and seasonal modelling, is crucial to build adaptive capacity in Africa. Clear data should be used for science-based policies and effective management strategies. There is need to explore adaptation challenges in the agricultural and forestry sectors and the potential to implement the appropriate measures to respond to those challenges with a particular focus on water management, and improved earth observation techniques. Africa’s adaptive capacity through the development of improved earth observation techniques and the provision of more accurate data related to both land use and the corresponding impacts of climate change.

Successful information gathering and earth observation techniques are not only useful for creating management strategies. They are also important for the development of early warning systems which will become more valuable as climate change will increase the likelihood of extreme weather events. Information and communications technologies comprise potential adaptation measures by improving temperature forecasting, impacts mapping, and early warning systems used in the event of extreme weather.

## **Chapter Fourteen**

### **CHALLENGES OF AID AND DEBT IN AFRICA**

Aid clearly can be useful and has certainly contributed to economic development and improvements in quality of life variables in many countries. Evidence for successful aid is particularly strong in targeted programs with defined objectives. Aid has helped the African countries in sectors like health, education, transport and communication, agriculture as well as other sectors. But, at the same time, and especially at very high levels over a sustained period, aid has been having distorting effects in Africa on some of the very outcomes donors hope to encourage through it, such as policy ownership, fiscal sustainability, institutional development, and ultimately, autonomous long-term economic growth.

One way to consider this problem is to think of aid as a subsidy. As such, aid is supposed to provide temporary financial assistance in order to encourage certain long-term behaviours: revenue collection, investment in physical and human capital, and the establishment of the institutions of a developmental state. There are clearly some cases where aid-as-subsidy has played this role, for example in Botswana, where foreign assistance supported local efforts to do these things and the country gradually was weaned off aid. At the same time, there are many, indeed dozens, of other cases in Africa where aid is neither temporary, nor seeming to assist countries in fulfilling these roles. Aid has been discouraging revenue collection, distorted expenditure decision-making, and undermined the incentives to build state capacity. In Africa aid is not only a crutch delaying institutional development, but as potentially undercutting those efforts.

This possibility of harmful aid dynamics seems particularly acute in Africa, where some countries have now entered into their third and fourth decades

of receiving substantial volumes of aid. Much of this aid has also included explicit capacity building technical assistance from donors. Technical assistance to central banks seems to have been successful in building institutional capacity, but such examples appear more the exception than the rule. Many scholars argue that state capacity has improved little during this period and point to specific cases of clear decline.

In some cases, the lack of progress on capacity building can be attributed to political instability. After all, at any given time in the last three decades, over a dozen economies in the continent have been subject to violent civil conflict and the emergence of warlord rule in the context of the collapse of the central state. Long periods of political stress, conflict and state collapse continue to have a significant impact on state capacity even after the return to political stability because of their long-term institutional effects, notably on the supply of trained manpower. Perhaps more striking is the slow pace of institution-building in relatively stable political systems. Africa is affected by the pervasive weakness of the central state in Africa, which often exercises weak if any effective sovereignty over much of its territory, and has less legitimacy than a variety of sub-national and private governance structures that compete with it for popular support. It has become fashionable in the donor community to blame this surprisingly slow pace of state capacity building on the nature of African bureaucracies, which are argued to be patrimonial and corrupt, and thus not particularly interested in the provision of public goods essential to development.

The African economies have for a long time been affected by large aid volumes which has affected institutional development. Much of the focus from economists has been on macroeconomic imbalances caused by large volumes of aid. One central issue has been the possibility of large aid

inflows affecting the real exchange rate and undermining the competitiveness of the export sector. Management of the real exchange rate is made even more difficult by aid volatility, which also has negative effects. Dutch disease-type effects have been noted in a number of African aid recipients. An active central bank can manage these exchange rate appreciations and, for the most part, mitigate pernicious effects on competitiveness, but a large volume of aid can and does undermine competitiveness.

Foreign aid undermines the ability of recipient governments to budget appropriately and the volatility of aid flows as the source of distortions. Aid is more volatile than domestic fiscal revenues and this volatility of aid often leads to poor budgeting and underestimation of revenues, particularly since aid commitments tend to overestimate actual disbursements. Fiscal uncertainty of dependence on external assistance also makes long-term planning extremely difficult.

Beyond volatility, there have also been some questions about perverse incentives of aid on the process of economic policymaking. The budget process is increasingly directed toward satisfying external donors rather than reflecting on actual public spending preferences. Aid also results in excessive and unsustainable levels of government consumption, also leading potentially to macro-imbalances because it is generally treated as an increase in income.

The potential loss of competitiveness means lower exports and economic growth, fewer jobs, and increased dependence on external assistance. Resource volatility contributes to macroeconomic instability, which complicates public policy making in vital areas such as budgeting and

planning, and tilt public spending toward consumption rather than investment. These can exact a negative effect on the quality of the civil service, public services, and infrastructure, all indirectly undermining the ability of the state to transition from patrimonialism to a more 'developmental' path.

Aid has got a negative impact on the ability of the state to collect revenues. It must be noted that the country's tax system fundamentally reflects its political institutions and reliance on citizens for raising public revenues, as opposed to unearned income via external assistance is an essential ingredient to establishing accountability between the state and society. Foreign aid displaces the processes of institutional maturation essential to development, including the capacity of the state to collect revenue. A government that receives significant amounts of aid is thought to have less incentive to tax and improve its tax administration. Not only may aid inflows lead to lower tax effort, but they may also slow down the development of domestic institutions such as the tax administration in recipient countries.

A critical set of negative institutional effects of aid is the influence of the African political regime in a way that discourages the establishment of rational developmental states. Large aid flows result in a reduction in governmental accountability because governing elites no longer need to ensure the support of their citizens and the assent of their legislatures when they do not need to raise revenues from the local economy, as long as they keep the donors happy and willing to provide alternative sources of funding. Aid has created moral hazard because it reduced the incentive to adopt good policies and reform inefficient institutions, and thus weakened the governments' developmental performance and encouraged rent-seeking. A



long-term decline in governmental accountability also appeared to have a direct impact on the degree of democracy prevailing in the system as there has been less democratic and have less effective institutional mechanisms and accountability.

### **The Debt Crisis in Africa**

Another major issue facing Africa is its dependence on external debt. Since their independence, African governments have been borrowing money from world financial institutions: World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF). These loans are meant for infrastructural projects and welfare. And these countries in order to sustain their economies have continued getting top up loans from these institutions which has led to huge debt burdens which makes the African countries to be vulnerable. The indebtedness of African countries originates from two sets of factors – external and internal – that came together to shape the economy as a whole in ways not favourable to economic and social progress.

The major external causes consist of the international recession and the additional decline in terms of trade, the high cost of external credit and the unfavourable role of international banks and international institutions, the deterioration in net inflows of capital and net transfers of resources, the fluctuations in the exchange rates of main international currencies to which African countries are measured, and the lack of co-ordination of policies among aid donors to guarantee the utmost and positive impact of aid and loan packages on development.

On the other hand, the internal causes of Africa's external indebtedness were a policy of excessive dependence on external resources for financing development, poor economic management together with mishandling of

resources and depletion of public funds, the failure of policies and institutions for monitoring the contracting of external debts (their utilization and servicing), and the absence of trained personnel to administer resource policies.

All African countries experienced significant increases in total long-term public debt between 1970 and 1985 leading to the expansion of international debt crisis throughout Africa in which total long-term debt as a percentage of Gross National Product (GNP) and total long-term debt service as a percentage of exports increased during this period. As a result of the African economic crisis the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank made future aid and debt to African countries dependent on the imposition of sure austerity measures. This led to implementation of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) in most of the countries, programs intended to enhance the capacity of the African economies to increase the living standard of their populations. Among the SAP strategies introduced were elimination of state from several areas of the economy through privatisation of the state owned companies, liberalisation of the economy and opening the national economy to the world through promoting a closer incorporation into the world economy via the exclusion of barriers and the stipulation of incentives such as elimination of controls over foreign currency market, incentives to foster foreign investment and the revision of investment codes in order to follow a more capital-friendly path. Additionally, these 'structural adjustment' measures include the devaluation of local currency. African governments were compelled to cut down on domestic spending as well as hand over control over their expenditure priorities, such as health care or agricultural subsidies, and the reduction of all workers' wages.

However, SAPs did not create the environment in which market-led and self-sustained economic growth would take place in stagnating economies. Instead, these policies and practices turned out to be more detrimental to African countries. There was deterioration in their standards of living, reduced access to public services, devastated environments, as well as plummeting employment prospects.

As a consequence of the failure of SAPs, there was impoverishment of ordinary Africans and African governments continued to incur more debts.

In the 1990s nearly all countries in Africa incurred large foreign debts in their efforts to industrialise and to provide their rapidly growing populations with modern social services. The IMF and the World bank have continued to maintain austerity measures in which a country can access aid or debt in which they give a country conditions to follow before been give aid or debt.

### **The Move from West to East: China Aid and Debt**

After decades of Western aid and debt provided under unfavourable conditions that are often viewed as paternalistic, after year 2000 there has been some shifts from the west to the east. Most African leaders have courted China for aid and debts for infrastructural development. China provides eight types of foreign aid: Complete Projects, Goods and Materials, Technical Co-operation, Human Resource Development Co-operation, Medical Assistance, Emergency Humanitarian Aid, Volunteer Programs and Debt Relief. China's aid to Africa covers education, Health, Agriculture, Transportation, Energy, and Communication. The bulk of China's financing falls under the category of development financing which combines Foreign Aid, Direct Investment, Service Contracts, Foreign Trade and Export, Labour Co-operation.

African leaders became interested in the Chinese aid and debt because the debt or aid offered by China does not come with strings attached approach. China pledged not to interfere in African countries' internal affairs, whether through political pressures or conditionality. China's approach is seen as less condescending than the west's insistence on imposing requirements related to transparency, human rights, democratisation, and other western priorities on their aid and investment. Many African leaders have particularly appreciated the lack of political pressures, lectures on good governance, and close oversight associated with China's engagement, particularly when compared with western aid and investment. Consistent with China's policy of non-interference, Chinese infrastructure and investment projects generally involve less up-front oversight in the form of planning meetings and impact assessments. China has become a swifter solution for African leaders because it has no bureaucracy and red tape in their negotiations. A project contract that would take five years to discuss, negotiate and sign with the World Bank takes three months when they deal with Chinese authorities.

However, inspite of the no external solutions given to African leaders by China, the development finance from china has brought few tangible results because of lack of support for good governance which can foster effective use of aid. China is certainly not the only source of money for dishonest officials who seek to enrich themselves, but the lack of transparency or independent scrutiny of many Chinese-funded projects—a corollary of Beijing's no-strings-attached, non-interference policy—makes such initiatives particularly ripe for personal enrichment.

In addition, China is just interested in invading and exploiting Africa. Chinese cooperation support unfair Chinese economic goals in Africa which

includes China taking our primary goods and sells us manufactured ones. Africa export of raw materials to China which are used in Chinese industries and in return China export consumer goods made of the same raw materials to Africa. This is a new form of imperialism and produces unequal economic dynamics.

Chinese companies use Africans as slave labour with harsh working conditions. Working conditions at Chinese-managed mines, factories, and facilities are dangerous and that African workers are abused, underpaid, and prevented from assuming managerial positions. In most cases the blame is laid on African governments for failing to enforce their own labour laws .The African governments are toothless because of the dependence on the Chinese investment projects which they fear to lose.

Of concern again is the influx of Chinese workers and merchants. The Chinese government sends millions of Chinese nationals to live and work in Africa including prisoners. The majority of them are labourers who come to work on projects managed by large Chinese enterprises. These workers take jobs and vending businesses that should go to local nationals. Many Chinese labourers and businessmen come to Africa to save money or to support families back home, In most cases, the of Chinese workers are paid directly to China and they are only little disposable income. They thus contribute little to the local consumer economy and government taxation.

### **Solutions to Dependency on Aid and Debt Crisis in Africa**

Africa is not going to move forward with its current aid and debt dependence syndrome. This is because west countries give the African countries conditions in form of strategies for them to follow. The development strategies from the western countries are not practical to

Africa because they are not researched based on the local African situations. Africa since the time of independence has had intelligent leaders who are capable of providing own thoughts and ideas on how to develop their economies but the foreign mega countries and institutions have been prescribing policies to African governments based on conditions, sanctions or imported. This has led to African governments to be dependent on these countries' foreign developmental policies and hence they are unable to apply their own solutions. In addition, the problems of aid dependence and external debt are the most critical drawbacks to the realisation of significant socio-economic development in much of the African region. Unless the aid dependence and debt burden issues is resolved in African countries, they will never make progress in socio-economic development. No amount of market reforms, multi-partyism will in all probability conclude in the formation of workable business systems and the attainment of preferred levels of socio-economic development in such countries if the issue of aid-debt dependency is not settled. What Africa needs is not aid and but it needs debt to supplement government revenue through taxation. African leaders should be sensible and able to delink their countries from the imperial infesters and transform their economies by finding ways of how to put government revenue and debt acquired to the best uses.

African countries have been recipients of foreign assistance since their independence. The provision of foreign assistance has, at times, developed a culture of dependency in Africa and fostered paternalism—as opposed to partnership—by the western countries. Thus, African governments need to take this opportunity to scale up policies that spur democracy, creating the enabling environment to build industrial and trade prosperity in Africa.

African governments need to create policies and implementation plans that will allow for a more competitive private sector that favours business growth, job creation, and the stimulation of African economies—such as sound fiscal and monetary policies; good governance, transparency, and strengthened judiciary systems; an improved investment climate, and reduced corruption. In particular, long-term investment in the private sector, the infrastructure and manufacturing industries, and agriculture will address food insecurity and create the necessary employment opportunities for African youth.

In addition, African governments need to increasing intra-African trade. Increasing intra-African trade will be a key component to accelerating economic growth, as it will increase industry competition, improve productivity, and develop local infrastructure. When combined with good governance and political stability, intra-Africa trade and deepening market integration will significantly increase economic growth, job creation, employment, poverty reduction, inflow of foreign direct investment, industrial development.

Boosting industrial base and trade will lead to an increase in the tax base which will lead to the governments to collect enough revenue for developmental purposes.

The African governments needs to boost alternatives to borrowing. This will help the countries resolve the major public financing shortfalls to meet even basic public expenditure needs. For example, an increase in tax is needed to ensure that the country can afford the necessary investments in health care, education and social protection in order to end extreme poverty. Africa can do more to improve tax collection. This can be done by broadening the tax base especially from the mines and mineral exports. The

countries should guard the Multinational Corporations (MNCs) against using off shore financial centres, intra company operations and financial secrecy in order to avoid tax avoidance and evasion.

Africa's problems revolve around the investment uses to which debt is put, and the ability of states to collect tax revenue to make debt sustainable, rather than in absolute debt levels.

Debt is important in supplementing the tax collected by the governments. African governments should take the following actions to ensure that debt is made sustainable and to reduce the negative effects of debt burden:

The government loans obtained by the African governments should be channelled towards the expansion and diversification of the countries' economies in order to promote long term economic growth. Economic diversification will not only reduce high macroeconomic volatility arising from large export price swings, but it may also broaden the countries' revenue base and therefore enhance the national ability to repay financial obligations when they fall due.

The government should also manage borrowing and lending better. Careful management of the opportunities, costs and risks of different sources of borrowing is important for the countries. The capacity for debt management remains weak in the countries and increased support to tackle this is important. But the underlying reasons for the limited improvement in debt management are linked to lack of accountability and political commitment.

There is need to increase accountability in order to improve the behaviour of borrowers and lenders. There is a considerable room for improvement in debt transparency at the country level, so that domestic citizens and respective parliaments can provide incentives for governments to improve



debt contraction, use and management. Without greater transparency, the real debt risks that African countries face are obscured. Transparency is the theme that has only been taken up to a limited extent by international initiatives. There is need to create a mandatory public register for lending and requiring both multilateral and private sector actors to use the register. The public disclosure of lending contracts would allow parliaments, journalists and civil society organisations to examine them, and would allow other lenders to have the full information before making further loans.

There is also need to establish better ways of managing shocks and crisis. African countries are vulnerable to crisis especially those caused externally for various reasons. A high proportion of their debts are in foreign currency and their economies are small and vulnerable to the changes in the prices of commodities or in global financial markets including the availability and cost of borrowing. Ensuring debt is managed to deal with potential shocks is an important but difficult element of African countries' debt management. Tools that they can use as part of their development strategies include capital account management techniques and the use of local development banks and other institutions to try to direct national savings towards longer term productive investment.

## **Chapter Fifteen**

### **THE CHALLENGE OF GLOBALIZATION**

The world is currently engaged in a process of globalisation, as is reflected in the growth of world trade, integration of capital markets, market for goods and services, skills, knowledge and culture, internationalisation of production, distribution networks and the mega-revolution in information, communications and technology. Globalization is altering the world landscape in fundamental ways. It is being driven by a widespread push toward the liberalization of trade, financial markets, technology, information and knowledge. It also demands that the region becomes competitive in attracting investment, applying new technology, and producing goods and services that can compete efficiently on the global market. Globalisation presents both opportunities and challenges for African countries.

#### **The Potential Benefits of Globalisation for Africa**

The process of globalisation opens new and exciting opportunities for African countries. First, the increasing exchange of goods, services and financial resources between developed and African countries is expected to lead to a more efficient allocation of world resources as well as to higher rates of economic growth in all countries. Rising incomes in other continents in the world have increased demand for African commodities and natural resources, boosting national economies. The expansion of exports from African countries constitutes a powerful new source of effective demand and job creation.

Meanwhile, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) also has potential positive effects such as expanding technology transfers, increasing production efficiency through the generation of a more competitive environment and rising foreign exchange which helps to close the balance of payments gap. Second, the new commercial strategy of Trans-National Corporations (TNCs) can also work to the advantage of African countries. The organisation of production in geographically dispersed stages gives rise to the relocation of some industries to Africa and increases African countries' opportunity to export manufactured goods to the developed world for the first time in history.

Finally, Globalization has also supported knowledge transfer, enabling African countries to improve living standards by "leapfrogging" to new technologies. Technological innovations in communications and transport make it possible to bring critical knowledge to African countries faster and cheaper than ever before. The advent of new information and communications technology dramatically lowered the costs of distance and ushered in another wave of globalization, characterized by the emergence of complex global value chains. These global value chains contributed to the great convergence of recent decades by boosting industrial output in countries. Information technology can also increase the voice of Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and other social groups and thus empower the poor. New technologies make official censorship much harder and improve the productivity and employment opportunities of unskilled labour.

Nevertheless, many of these potential benefits have not materialised in Africa. African countries have remained excluded from this process. Economically, globalization has, on the whole, reinforced the economic

marginalization of African economies and their dependence on a few primary goods for which demand and prices are externally determined. The continent's share of global merchandise trade has stagnated similar to its share of world manufacturing output. This has, in turn, made poverty and economic inequality more complex as well as the ability of the vast number of Africans to participate meaningfully in the social and political life of their countries. Globalization, by insisting on African countries opening their economies to foreign entrepreneurs and goods, limits the ability of African governments to take proactive and conscious measures to facilitate the emergence of an indigenous entrepreneurial class.

Economic and social stagnation has also triggered a substantial brain- drain from Africa, further weakening the ability of African countries to manage their economies efficiently and effectively. As a result of the cultural domination from outside that goes with globalization, African countries are rapidly losing their cultural identity and therefore their ability to interact with other cultures on an equal and autonomous basis, borrowing from other cultures only those aspects that meet its requirements and needs. Finally, while the scientific and technological forces unleashed by globalization have facilitated to some extent access by Africans to advanced technology and information, this has been at the expense of blocking the indigenous development of technology and distorting patterns of production in Africa, notably by utilizing capital as against labor intensive methods of production, which in turn increases unemployment and poverty.

Globalisation has contributed to premature deindustrialization in Africa. This is because advanced economies can now produce goods more cheaply making African countries to have difficulties in developing local industries that create jobs. Moreover, some Multi-National Corporations (MNCs)

operating in the region are dodging taxes through sophisticated accounting and legal mechanisms such as profit externalising, depriving governments of much needed resources for economic development.

Globalisation is also contributing to climate change, which has a disproportionate effect on Africa despite the continent's limited contribution to the problem. Cyclones Idai and Kenneth and Ana, which recently devastated Malawi, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe, are tragic examples of what more is to come.

### **Solutions to Problems of Globalisation Consequences in Africa**

Nonetheless, globalisation holds considerable prospects for Africa if the continent can seize the opportunities it offers and faces its challenges. To take advantage of the opportunities offered, Africa must brace up to the challenges of maintaining sound economic management. The region's policymakers should accelerate their efforts in the following areas:

African governments should promote further regional integration to make Africa economically stronger and more effective at advancing its agenda internationally. The African countries should create a single 'United Africa' sovereign of states which will enable the continent to build its human and institutional capacity to address some of the consequences of globalization and to develop appropriate long-term policy response capacity to issues of trade, portfolio investment, FDI, intellectual property rights, among others.

Effective integration of the continent into the global economy will thus require the adoption and maintenance of sustainable reforms that support liberal trade and investment regimes. In trade, competition is increasingly becoming stiff. In finance, international capital market integration, and the

potential volatility of capital flows that comes with it, is making macroeconomic management increasingly more complex. Consequently, African policymakers will need to build capacities required for sound economic policies, as policy errors in the context of globalization are profoundly costly.

African countries need to diversify into many income generating activities. This will enable the African economies to move away from dependence on a few primary commodities especially that the natural resources are depleting. In order to fight for sustainability of these economies in the event of globalisation, the governments have to ensure a balance between agriculture, tourism, mining, manufacturing and other sectors, and increase the competitiveness of African goods and services in the world market. This would require energetic and concerted action by governments, civil society and other stakeholders with active and sustained support from the society at large.

African countries must improve its digital infrastructure and technology-related skills to avoid being further marginalized. At present, the cost of Internet access in Africa is the highest in the world and internet penetration is very low at thirty-seven percent (37 %) as compared to the world's average which is fifty-seven percent (57 %). Education and training programs should therefore focus more on developing digital know-how, as well as on soft skills such as critical thinking and cognitive and socio-behavioral capabilities. This will enable the replacement of the low-cost, low-skill labor on which Africa has traditionally relied but has become less competitive due to the coming of the Fourth Industrial Revolution.

The growing African population will lead to generating huge amounts of data on the economies. Africa governments must create a system for owning and regulating their digital data. In the modern era, capital has displaced land as the most important asset and determinant of wealth. But in the digital economy, data will be key as demonstrated by the scramble among global technology firms such as Meta, Google, and Twitter to control it. This control will require the African countries to harvest, own, and regulate such information. This can only be achievable if the African governments develop and launch their own satellites in the sky territories of their countries. The wealth of data that African countries' large population will be generating will be giving the African continent an advantage over the other continents in the field of artificial intelligence.

## **Chapter Sixteen**

### **CHALLENGES OF INTEGRATION AND COOPERATION IN AFRICA**

African regional integration was a dream of many of the continent's leaders and this resulted in the formation of the Organisation for African Union (OAU) which was later transformed into African Union (AU). In addition to the AU, different groupings have followed different paths with different emphases like Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD), Economic Community of West (ECOWAS), Economic Community of Central Africa (ECCAS), East African Community (EAC), Arab Maghreb Union (AMU), Southern African Development Community (SADC), Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA). Regional Integration in Africa is a solution to the continent's problem of globalisation and underdevelopment. Cooperation on regional public goods can help prevent or peacefully manage conflicts over such scarce resources as land, water and energy. Despite all these African regional blocs, Africa's experience in attempting to promote intra-regional trade as well as joint development of infrastructure, trade-related institutions and policies and capacity has not been very successful. Internal trade has been much less important in all of the African blocs, with, in most cases, little or no growth in relative terms over time.

Africa has been facing the challenge of strengthening regional cooperation and economic integration because of the following:

Africa was shared among various European countries and great adventurers. This act has indoctrinated the African countries into different European cultures and languages, which is an inhibition for their understanding, unity



and integration. Colonial legacy has been leading economic cooperation and integration among African countries to be hindered which led to the absence of links among them since ties were essentially with the colonial power. Many countries continued to deal mostly with their colonial powers.

Both effects of colonization and globalisation shapes Africa's current position in the world economy as a supplier of cheap labour and raw materials. Thus, Africa has a narrow economic base.

Africa faces the challenge of strengthening regional cooperation and economic integration. The record of regional integration in Africa has been challenging in which many regional institutions were marked by imported political initiative with a shallow concentration on economies, uncoordinated initiatives and political conflicts. The formation of the regional bodies in the continent has been based on the inspiration of the foreign integration models. The African leaders studied the integration of Europe and realised that it was successful and hence followed its footsteps in order to achieve the same success. It must be noted that an imported framework on African integration cannot work because Europe and Africa are faced with totally different issues. In addition, funding remains challenge for the African Union as member states are reluctant to pay their annual dues. The African Union relies on funding from the west and international organisations. This reliance on external funding casts doubts on the Africa Union's ability to act independently and in pursuit of African solutions because the funders dictate the decisions.

The other reason for the failure of integration in Africa is because of the diversity of economies between African countries. The great diversity across Africa in terms of resource-rich and resource-poor, coastal and landlocked, artificial borders, many ethnic groups and languages translated

into different interests that strengthened countries' insistence on the 'respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each state and the inalienable right to independent existence. African states are reluctant to encourage the erosion of national sovereignty and the emergence of a continental authority, which is necessary in co-ordination and management of the affairs of the hoped- UNITED AFRICA.

The inability to act with one voice during times of conflict on the continent is another factor that is hampering the 'Africa First' approach. African countries have a tendency of not acting with one voice in their responses to critical issues such as conflict and climate change among others. This is because of the mushrooming of many regional bodies dividing the membership according to the regions: South, West, East and North. Sometimes their functions and membership overlap on each other creating conflicts in policies enacted by the member countries and divided voices.

The lack of effective integration in Africa has led to the continent to be unable to improve the lives of its citizens due to the following among others:

There is lack of African representation in international organisations and conferences. African governments are given little and sometimes no audience with international organisations and at conferences. This has led to the inability by the African leaders to communicate with the international organisations and the world at large on the critical problems that are affecting the countries of the continent and show how they intend to solve them.

The current situation is that the western countries are the ones holding crucial meetings on Africa's issues and they give solutions based on the little information which they have. Surprisingly, the able bodied African leaders are comfortable in receiving cooked generalised solutions and they proudly go back for more solutions. The Brettonwood organisations that is the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the World Trade Organization (WTO) are still active in giving solutions to African countries ,the recent one been the total removal of subsidies wave in all African countries which has brought alot of misery to the African citizens.

In addition, African leaders at international conferences are given an opportunity to talk when presenting the problems the countries are facing. However, they are not allowed to take part in the debates on the decisions based on policies affecting their countries. The above situations have led to the erosion of the sovereignty of the African states. It must be noted that external solution interventions on the continent problems, even under the banner of the United Nations and Bretton woods giants tend to bring non-African economic, political and cultural influence and its associated problems to the continent.

Africa has low level of participation in trade negotiations due to lack of integration. The west and the eastern rich countries have created regional trading blocs and non-tariff barriers and Africa does not fit in, in terms of skills and institutional capacities making the continent to be discriminated in trade negotiation. This is a strong indication that more trade now occurs within regional blocs, an area in which Africa has made very limited progress in spite of the treaties establishing the African Economic Community and the various Regional Economic Communities - a development frontier that requires a big push.

Lack of integration is tolerating the use of multiple currencies where each country has its own currency and countries with weak currencies use the US Dollar as a medium of exchange. The multiple currencies cause barriers to the flow of goods, money, and people and disturb the foundation for greater prosperity. The multiple currencies provides a higher currency instability as the currencies are used in a small zone making it not credible with more speculations and the business owners cannot easily project future market trends better. A lack of stabilised common currency leads to less investments and jobs as less capital is attracted from within the continent and abroad. Further, lack of common currency reduces trade among the participating members because of more transaction costs when buying or selling to member countries.

### **Solutions to the Challenges of Integration and Cooperation in Africa**

Africa has to have a strong position in the global system if it has to survive. The position of Africa in the international system can be made strong by improving economic development in general, and human development in particular. African leaders have to re-strategize a new world view of African role in African affairs and in the international state system. A view that will take into consideration her emerging challenges such as: threat to sustainable sovereignty, sustainable African oriented democracy, reduced conflict, improved human rights and development and creating an effective common market covering all the African economies. There is great need to cope with the forces of globalization and its impact on national sovereignty and threat to local investors. Local investment in manufacturing in Africa should be promoted in order for raw materials to be processed into finished goods before export. This can be fruitful if only there is a

transformation of the African Union to make it a progressive landmark in the protracted struggle for a new philosophy of United Africa.

Political and Economic unification would be the solution to Africa's development dilemma and, for many, to work it would require a vibrant political union. The current political union representing African countries is the African Union. The African Union needs to strengthen the powers of its political parliament, the Pan- African Parliament where critical policies will be debated and harmonized; and networking of various government institutions to provide and shape the process and institutions of integration. Apart from demanding for the harmonization of policies on trade, investment, infrastructural development, as well as monetary and fiscal policies of member states, the Pan-African Parliament should oversee the security related issues of the continent .No individual country should make critical decisions which might affect the safety of its citizens or other African countries.

The African Union needs to have a new vision that will re-ignite African vision of integration. African Union vision has to transcend the level of self-determination and poor governance to a new consciousness of threat to the sustainability of continent's sovereignty, political power; development and security in our states. There is great need to broaden African co-operation and integration for a greater African approach to African problems. The vision of integration will enable Africans to be more competitive in their international relation, and influence in the international community.

In addition, there is need for identification of continental capacity building and this would need the African Union to concentrate on the investment of extensive resources in both the product and process dimensions of its

capacity needs, products in the form of infrastructure for an enabling environment and processes. The intervention should be centred on physical infrastructure, institution building and strengthening, and the development of human skills and knowledge, enhancement of norms, behaviours, practices, systems, processes and procedures involved in development activities such as sustained growth, poverty reduction and good governance. This will definitely lead to more intensive and efficient utilization of existing skills and institutions.

African Union will have to take its own course, travel at its own pace, find its own rhythm and give any feasible local solutions. There is need to formulate development policies aimed at agriculture development, industrial development, improving public service delivery, infrastructural development, reformulating integration efforts to prevent copying from foreign models and ensuring there are no losers in the integration process, and finding strong political will for the project.

The African Union should fully be funded from the African resources through the contributions by African states. Hand outs from international bodies and foreign continent countries should not be accepted as they would affect the decision making.

African countries should work on one voice and African union should be the voice of Africa. This would increase and strengthen the voice of African states in the world bodies making the west not to dominate on the solving of African problems. African Union should spearhead a bigger role in solving African problems and not to leave them for the western world. African Union should use the academic community in coming up with effective solutions to African problems by using the rich natural resources. The universities should inform decision making solutions to African Union by

producing localised solutions and simulations on problems been faced by African countries.

The African Union should set up an African economic community with a single bank, African Central Bank operating on a single African currency. There is need for African governments to agree on stopping using different currencies and form up one currency. Africa has been longing to have as single currency for a long time. However, people might argue of a common market bringing problems to development in cases of countries experiencing deep recession due to currency unification which might lead to weak economic performance and unemployment. In order to avoid the member countries facing problems, there is need to make sure that the following is fulfilled before unifying the currency.

The first one is that people in the participating member countries should move easily and they should not have barriers on their moving behaviours for business, jobs or studies.

The second one is that countries seeking for the unification of the currency should have widely diversified production and exports and have similar structures as this will bring more self-sustainable and less dependence on one specific industry and also other countries and reduces the chances of suffering during economic shocks.

Thirdly, there should be an economic interdependence through trade which means that countries should not only be willing to trade with each other but should be able to trade.

Fourth, is the compensation for each other when there is an economic shock on some members. When one country suffers an economic shock, the other

countries which are advantaged should be able and willing to compensate the affected country.

Once these precautions are fulfilled, a currency unification can yield positive results for the continent through investment, trade and free movement of labour which will induce a positive outlook on their economies.



## **Chapter Seventeen**

### **OUR AFRICA OUR HOME OUR FUTURE: The Revolution Continues**

The African economy has enormous resources and is a home to a third of planets mineral resources, a tenth of the oil and it produces two-thirds of the diamonds in the world. The African states have been coming up with developmental frameworks aimed at utilising the resources and addressing their developmental problems. However, African leaders face alot of issues in managing their respective economies. The major problem is the African leaders themselves.

Africa since independence of its countries has been having a crop of old presidents and senior government officials because of the culture of not having trust in the young people to run the affairs of the states. These are old people with age range between sixty-five (65) and ninety (90) years whose minds and bodies are no longer active to take up meaningful national development. They are unable to exercise alertness needed for the job and incapable of providing unclouded vision that matches the pace and expectation of time. In addition, most of these old men have overstayed in offices spanning several decades. This has brought about the leadership gap between the leaders and the led. The average age of an African president is 78 years which is the highest among all the continents. Africa has the youngest population with the average age of 20 years. However, the continent has a small proportion of young leaders between 35 and 55. Many of the old African leaders we have today feeding on the helpless African masses, had the same mentality of the African youth of today, they genuinely wished to do something to help what they saw as wrongs, they acted, ceased power only to suppress the people, stayed in power till their

old ages. The reason is because they acted on good intentions without plans. The tradition of older presidents leading young countries is not likely to change soon.

There are very few African politicians who have acquired genuine education from recognised educational institutions. This has led to majority of the African leaders not been to articulate the problems of the continent and find solutions for them. The majority prefer to obtain educational qualifications from compromised educational institutions from within Africa and abroad by paying huge sums of money to these institutions in exchange to the qualifications. It has also become fashionable by these African leaders to buy honorary degrees in pursuit for the title of Doctor to their names which is viewed the tag of respect.

The lack of education and exposure has led to African countries to adopt shallow economic policies which has denied African states any significant opportunities for the promotion of economic growth and development.

In addition, honest and passionate leaders are hard to find in the African continent. African politicians ,when they are seeking for votes from the people they are very meek and always gives words of hope and promises of better life to the voters. When they are voted into office, they discard the promises to the people and they start blaming their predecessors for the lack of development instead of working as per promise. They become corrupt and start enriching themselves from the national resources they find. It is because of corruption that the African leaders are frustrating the agenda for Africa to be united as one. This is because they know that they will no longer be able to abuse the resources if Africa is fully integrated.

The problematic African leaders are not able to address the challenges in Africa like poverty, inequality, war, trade and lack of development. Instead they wait for the western and eastern countries, and international organisations to help them to find solutions to these problems. They do not have the capacity to think hence they import the thinking capacity for solutions to the problems their countries face.

The Bretton Institutions namely World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Trade Organisation (WTO) in order to help African governments to solve their development problems have been initiating and designing developmental frameworks for the continent. The developmental policy frameworks from the International Organisations have not been able to address the challenges of African countries. These policies failed because of lack of understanding of Africa's problems and the application of one prescription for all African states which do not share similar characteristics, political, economic and socio-cultural of African countries. The African continent has 54 countries with different culture, problem types and levels which makes it wrong to think that these development indicators are the same to those of developed states. It is important to note that the imported frameworks experimented by African states could not transform the continent because African problems were not properly diagnosed before prescribing these frameworks.

Secondly, the frameworks were faulty at the level of implementation due to political economy incompatibility as Africa and the west have different political and economic characteristics.

Thirdly, modifications of the frameworks to suit African situations have been difficult because these frameworks do not take into consideration the peculiarity of African's culture, communal life style and solidarity.

The international organisations trains Africans in western countries where the political and economic institutions have no bearing or relationship with African institutions. Moreover, these African trainees are acquainted with high doses of alien concepts, principles and theories as well as developmental frameworks that destroy African economies.

These international organisations have brought about interrelated problems that is the problem imposed by the hostile international economic and political order within which Africa economies operate and domestic weaknesses resulting from socio-economic and political structures and neo-liberal structural adjustment policies. Moreover, the major features of the hostile global order to include the integration of African economies into the global economy as exporters of primary commodities and importers of manufactured products, leading to balance of trade deficit. The second concern has to do with the policies of privatization, liberalization and deregulation as well as unsound package of macro-economic policies imposed through structural adjustment conditionality of the World Bank Groups, and IMF. All these have been institutionalized within the WTO rules, agreements and procedures which are unfavourable to African states. Besides, these internal and external policies and structures by the World Bank Groups and IMF have combined to generate “unsustainable and unjustifiable debt burden which has crippled Africa’s economies and undermined the capacity of African states to own their developmental strategies, thereby making African states perpetually dependent and subservient to the west.

Also, the external impediments imposed on African states as a result of the hostile international economic and political order have exacerbated the internal structural imbalances of African economies and with it neo-liberal

structural adjustment policies, inequalities socio-economic and political structures have led to the disintegration of Africa's economies and increased social inequalities as well as destruction of infant industries, decreased agricultural production capacity, weakened the public services and the capacity of African states and governments to initiate and implement policies that are needed for the desired balanced and equitable national development. Thus, the cost associated with these has been disproportionate, marginalized and subordinated groups in Africa especially women, children, peasants and small scale producers .However, the implication of the above problems on African economies has led to policies and programmes reversal and the dismantling of state institutions that were put in place since Africa's independence to create and expand integrated production across African economies in sectors such as agriculture, industry, trade among others. A thorough examination of the World Banks Groups, IMF and WTO policies on Africa's economy shows serious damages by these policies on debt trapped African states.

The implications of the World Banks Groups, IMF and WTO policies on Africa's economies is that these institutions control the commanding heights of Africa's economy through Multinational/Transnational corporations thereby making African states to lack total autonomy over their domestic policies, as their local policies are externally initiated or packaged and closely monitored by World Banks Groups, IMF and WTO .

Developed economies around the world are developing their political and economic relations with African states in pursuit of strategically positioning themselves and not necessarily in the interest of Africa which has led to their policy frameworks not been able to address the challenges of African

countries but rather they contribute to the increasing rate of poverty, inequality and marginalization of Africans.

Despite foreign policies not working, Africa has become very crowded area with many actors who are converging around the continent. The international organisations and western countries, and some eastern countries like China have continued to offer their solutions to Africa leaders making the situation worse. Some countries like United Kingdom have created Minister for Africa, whose main responsibility is Africa welfare and relations while United States of America (USA) has been pushing to open Office of Security Cooperation in strategic African countries commonly known as Africa Command Office (AFRICOM) whose role is to provide diplomacy, development and defence approach to negate the drivers of conflict and extremism on the African continent. Most of the Africans have been blaming these alien countries for pushing their agendas on the African soil. However, the main problem is the weak African leaders who accept anything from these countries and international organisations because they are lazy to think.

### **Way forward for Africa**

It is time for a wakeup call for Africans to fix the mistakes of the past generations by taking destinies into their own hands and rebuild Africa by making use of their resources to solve the continent's problems. The sleeping masses needs to be awakened. We need to build strong mindsets that can take part in the revolution for economic independence and development of Africa.

There is need for the Africans to have a greater opposition for archaic, uneducated and corrupt leaders. This can be done by using the ballot where

the citizens especially the youths who are in majority comes in large numbers in voting for youthful and energetic leaders who are morally upright, educated and have respect for the rule of law. The people must start gaining the energy and been active so that they produce a youth quake to take down problematic presidents. African People of all ages including the millennial generation should join the revolution and spirit of seeking a better continent. We need a revolution that will transform our societies without breaking them. Young Africans must realise that transfer of power does not come on a silver plate and these problematic leaders will do anything to retain power for themselves.

In cases where democratic vote fails the African people should uprising and fight against problematic leaders to make sure that there is change of governments and the institutions too. There is need for this great generation to come together for the purpose of creating fearless citizen movements today with visible revolutionary leaders within the youthful age group. We need to fight and overthrow the powerful political elites who have dominated political power, and this will create societies where political rights are properly shared and the governments becomes responsive to the needs of the people. Africans should rail against the leaders who are corrupt and replace them with good and upstanding leaders. The leaders who will stand and protect the African people, the leaders who will come up with indigenous solutions to foster development in the continent and most importantly the leaders who will unite the African states to form a United Africa or rather a UNITED STATES OF AFRICA. This fight can only be won if the African people across the continent stand together just like our fore fathers did during independence liberation movements. For this particular journey, it is Africa we have to work for, not our personal interests. The salvation and future of Africa rests on our backs as the new

and angry generation of Africans who can see that our leaders have failed us. We are the new generation who are not going to sit there and watch our brainless leaders import and use foreign policy models on our economies. We should realise that every social need in Africa is an opportunity that need typical indigenous model to exploit it.

### **Indigenous Solutions for African Problems**

Africa will not develop if its leaders continue to copy and paste the same political and economic models that are designed to parasite us. African leaders need to find local solutions in addressing the issue of corruption, bad governance, poverty, political instability, conflict and dependence among others rather than relying on models been initiated by western countries and the Bretton Wood organisations. The call for indigenous solutions for Africa should not be looked at as a way to close African doors to the international community but to ensure that African leaders do not have to account for their contributions to the challenges on the continent. Africans can be able and are capable in creating their own political and economic models which will suit the developmental agenda of the continent. African countries should use multilateral platforms with fellow African countries to explore tangible approaches in building strong and resilient African economies. This is the time for Africans to take up things in their hand and use their resources to solve their problems. African leaders should engage different local stakeholders such as African scholars, traditional leaders and local civil society groups in order to come up with indigenous solutions to the problems faced in the individual countries. African solutions should include planning of content, ideas, practical action and financial dimensions. The content and ideas should emerge from Africans, especially African scholars through research which will offer



solutions to local realities. Different countries of the African continent face different problems and hence there is need for scholarly research in order to find out the causes of the problems and ways on how to solve them and harmonise the countries for implementation of the solutions.

African leaders must focus on issues that will promote the interest of the continent especially on how to promote political and economic reforms that will aid economic growth and development in the continent by moving from mere declarative statements to pragmatic steps that is problem solving, achievable and goal oriented. African leaders needs to have the political will to combat corruption , poverty, inequality, dependence, debt, bad governance, political instability and channel the needed resources to the productive sectors of the African economies or else achieving the sustainable economic development will only be a myth and not reality.

Therefore, any framework that will address the problems of African states must among other things first, be developed by Africans because we Africans understand the nature of our problems. Secondly, it must take the peculiarity of African societies into consideration. Thirdly it must be people oriented or people driven as well as welfare oriented. Lastly, its goals and objectives must be attainable and time bound.

### **Implementation of United Africa and Indigenous Solutions for African Problems**

The African Union, the organisation tasked with leading Africa into becoming a peaceful, prosperous and integrated continent, is naturally expected to embody this maxim to its fullest potential and apply it whenever the need arises. AU has both the capability and determination to solve African problems, hence it should take the lead in responding to them without any influence of external actors in continental affairs. The AU is

more robust with improved mandates for coordinated solutions to continental challenges and a focus on respect of democratic principles, human rights, the rule of law and good governance.

AU must initiate researches on the problems faced by the continent as Africa is one continent but realities in the north, east, south and west may differ. The reason why African scholars should be put at the forefront of the African solutions to African problems because its implementation would require an understanding of the root causes of these problems in order to formulate suitable and sustainable solutions to them, as well as the capacity to implement them in a practical manner. AU should be in a position to take control over the destinies of African countries and be in a strong position to deal effectively with the outside world.

AU should pay particular attention to wide-ranging issues, from development, education and health to peace and security. It should amalgamate politics with action placing emphasis on pride, indigeneity, self-reliance, taking ownerships, responsibility and strengthening cultural identities. As a result, consensus on continental integration as part of the solution will also grow amongst policymakers, academics, analysts, and civil society.

In order for the successful implementation of African solutions to African problems, there would first need to be a clear misunderstanding between African states and should ignite permanent unity among African countries. It should foster a United Africa that requires its members to act with one voice at all times in the best interests of the continent.

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